## IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANIA

JILL STEIN, et al.,

Plaintiffs,

**CIVIL ACTION** 

v.

KATHY BOOCKVAR, in her official capacity as Secretary of the Commonwealth, and JONATHAN MARKS, in his official capacity as Commissioner of the Bureau of Commissions, Elections and Legislation,

Defendants.

No. 16-cv-6287(PD)

# DECLARATION OF ROBERT A. WIYGUL IN SUPPORT OF DEFENDANTS' OPPOSITION TO PLAINTIFFS' MOTION TO ENFORCE THE SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT

- I, Robert A. Wiygul, declare under the penalty of perjury pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746 that:
- 1. I am an attorney at the law firm Hangley Aronchick Segal Pudlin & Schiller, counsel for Defendants in this action. I submit this Declaration in support of Defendants' Opposition to Plaintiffs' Motion to Enforce the Settlement Agreement.
- 2. Attached as Exhibit 1 hereto is a true and correct copy of a portion of Jill Stein's twitter feed dated November 28, 2018, which was downloaded from https://twitter.com/drjillstein?lang=en.
- 3. Attached as Exhibit 2 hereto is a true and correct copy of the transcript of the Hearing that took place in this matter on December 9, 2016.
- 4. Attached as Exhibit 3 hereto is a true and correct copy of excerpts from the Consensus Study Report of the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine,

Securing the Vote: Protecting American Democracy (2018), which was downloaded from https://www.carnegie.org/media/filer\_public/34/9d/349d3207-d994-4838-8b79-5f8d88e0e412/nas report.pdf.

- 5. Attached as Exhibit 4 hereto is a true and correct copy of a portion of Jennifer Cohn's twitter feed dated November 29, 2018, which was downloaded from https://twitter.com/jennycohn1?lang=en.
- 6. Attached as Exhibit 5 hereto is a true and correct copy of a press release from the Philadelphia Commissioners Office dated February 20, 2019, which was downloaded from https://files7.philadelphiavotes.com/announcements/2019-02-20-Philadelphia\_City%20Commissioners\_Approve.pdf#\_ga=2.58593386.1950796126.1576181779-1264225452.1575516017.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the law of the United States of America that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed on December 12, 2019.

Robert A. Wiygul

# **EXHIBIT 1**



Dr. Jill Stein 🌻 🥏 @DrJillStein · 28 Nov 2018

BREAKING: Huge victory for election integrity! We just settled our #recount lawsuit in Pennsylvania for a guarantee that PA will use paper ballots by 2020, followed in 2022 by post-election audits to verify the vote before results are certified. Details:



#### PA Recount Settlement a Victory for Voters Everyw...

In a huge victory for election integrity, Jill Stein and plaintiffs settled their recount lawsuit in Pennsylvania for a guarantee that PA will use paper ballots by 2020, fol... votingjustice.us

Q 258 1→ 747 ♥ 1.8K

### **EXHIBIT 2**

	E UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE E	ASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLVANI.
JILL STEIN AND RANDAL	L REITZ : CIVIL NUMBER
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<b>v</b> .	
PEDRO A. CORTES, IN H	IS OFFICIAL
CAPACITY AS SECRETARY	OF THE
COMMONWEALTH AND JONA	THAN MARKS
IN HIS OFFICIAL CAPAC	CITY AS
COMMISSIONER OF THE B	SUREAU OF
COMMISSIONS, ELECTION	ıs,
AND LEGISLATION	: 16-6287
	FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9, 2016
	COURTROOM 6B
	PHILADELPHIA, PA 19106
BEFORE THE HONOR	RABLE PAUL S. DIAMOND, J.
	HEARING
APPEARANCES:	
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	QUIRE
GREGORY M. HARVEY, ES 123 SOUTH BROAD STREE	QUIRE
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GREGORY M. HARVEY, ES 123 SOUTH BROAD STREE PHILADELPHIA, PA 1910  COUNSEL FOR PLAINTIFF  SUZANN  OFFICIAL  FIRST FLO 601 M	QUIRE T 9  S  S  S  S  S  S  S  S  S  S  S  S
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GREGORY M. HARVEY, ES 123 SOUTH BROAD STREE PHILADELPHIA, PA 1910  COUNSEL FOR PLAINTIFF  SUZANN OFFICIAL FIRST FLO 601 M PHILADE (215	QUIRE  ST  ST  ST  ST  ST  ST  ST  ST  ST  S

1 CONTINUED APPEARANCES: 2 EMERY CELLI BRINCKERHOFF & ABADY, LLP ILANN M. MAAZEL, ESQUIRE ANDREW G. CELLI, ESQUIRE 3 ALISON E. FRICK, ESQUIRE DOUGLAS E. LIEB, ESQUIRE 600 FIFTH AVENUE, 10TH FLOOR NEW YORK, NY 10020 5 COUNSEL FOR PLAINTIFFS LAWRENCE J. TABAS, ESQUIRE REBECCA L. WARREN, ESQUIRE 8 OBERMAYER REBMANN MAXWELL & HIPPEL, LLP ONE PENN CENTER, 19TH FLOOR 1617 JFK BLVD 9 PHILADELPHIA, PA 19103 10 FOR THE INTERVENOR DEFENDANTS ALL OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ELECTORS OF PRESIDENT-ELECT 11 DONALD TRUMP AND VICE-PRESIDENT ELECT MICHAEL PENCE 12 13 KENNETH L. JOEL, ESQUIRE TIMOTHY E. GATES, ESQUIRE OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL 14 CIVIL LITIGATION 15 15TH FLOOR, STRAWBERRY SQUARE HARRISBURG, PA 17120 16 COUNSEL FOR THE DEFENDANT, PEDRO CORTES 17 SUE ANN UNGER, ESQUIRE OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL 18 LITIGATION SECTION 19 21 SOUTH 12TH STREET 3RD FLOOR PHILADELPHIA, PA 19107 20 21 COUNSEL FOR THE DEFENDANT, PEDRO CORTES 22 23 24

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- 1 THE CLERK: PLEASE REMAIN SEATED, COURT 2 IS NOW IN SESSION. 3 THE COURT: PLEASE BE SEATED, EVERYBODY. 4 GOOD AFTERNOON. ALL COUNSEL: GOOD AFTERNOON, YOUR HONOR. 5 6 THE COURT: WE ARE HERE FOR A HEARING ON THE PLAINTIFF'S MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTIVE 8 RELIEF. 9 MR. MAAZEL. MR. MAAZEL: THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR. 10 THE COURT: GOOD AFTERNOON. I ASSUME YOU 11 12 WILL BE ACTING ON BEHALF OF THE PLAINTIFFS. 13 MR. MAAZEL: I WILL, PRIMARILY. A COUPLE OF MY COLLEAGUES MAY DO A WITNESS, BUT YES, I WILL BE 14 THE PRIMARY PERSON. 15 16 THE COURT: JUST AS LONG AS YOU DON'T ALLOW MR. HARVEY TO SAY ANYTHING. NICE TO SEE YOU, MR. 17 18 HARVEY. 19 MR. HARVEY: THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR. MR. MAAZEL: YOUR HONOR, IF I MAY JUST 20 21 BRIEFLY INQUIRE AS TO OUR HOUR, FOR CROSS EXAMINATION OF A WITNESS WE CALL, WOULD THAT BE COMING OUT OF OUR TIME 22 23 OR THE OTHER SIDE, SIR? 24 THE COURT: YOUR TIME. YOU ARE ASSUMING
- 25 THE OTHER SIDE KNOWS HOW TO CROSS EXAMINE AND WHAT THEY

- 1 WILL ELICIT WILL BE HARMFUL TO YOU. MY EXPERIENCE
- 2 HERE -- NOT WITH THESE PARTICULAR LAWYERS, BUT GENERALLY
- 3 INDICATES THAT SOMETIMES STUFF COMES OUT ON CROSS THAT
- 4 IS AS DAMAGING TO THE PERSON ELICITING IT AS IT IS
- 5 FAVORABLE. SO, YES. AND THE SAME GOES FOR THEIR
- 6 WITNESSES.
- 7 MR. MAAZEL: AND IF I MAY, I THINK I
- 8 WOULD LIKE TO RESERVE MAYBE 10 OR 15 MINUTES FOR
- 9 REBUTTAL AT THE END.
- 10 THE COURT: ABSOLUTELY.
- 11 MR. MAAZEL: THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR.
- 12 WOULD YOU PREFER I BE HERE OR --
- 13 THE COURT: YOU DON'T HAVE TO STAND.
- 14 WHEREVER YOU ARE MOST COMFORTABLE.
- 15 MR. JOEL: I'M SORRY, BEFORE WE -- I JUST
- 16 HAVE ONE QUESTION.
- 17 THE COURT: IDENTIFY YOURSELF.
- 18 MR. JOEL: I'M SORRY. KENNETH JOEL FROM
- 19 THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE ON BEHALF OF THE
- 20 DEFENDANT. I'M HERE WITH MY COLLEAGUE SUE ANN UNGER AND
- 21 ALSO MR. GATES FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.
- 22 THE COURT: GOOD TO SEE YOU, AGAIN,
- MS. UNGER.
- 24 MS. UNGER: GOOD AFTERNOON, YOUR HONOR.
- 25 MR. JOEL: I JUST HAVE A QUICK QUESTION.

- 1 AS I'M SURE YOU'RE AWARE, WE HAVE RAISED SEVERAL
- 2 JURISDICTIONAL ISSUES. I DIDN'T KNOW IF MAYBE YOU WANT
- 3 TO HAVE A LITTLE ARGUMENT ON THAT OR MAYBE HAVE THE
- 4 PLAINTIFFS PUT FORTH WHATEVER EVIDENCE THEY WANTED ON
- 5 THAT FIRST.
- 6 THE COURT: I'M GOING TO LET THE
- 7 PLAINTIFFS PROCEED, AS THEY SEE FIT. I WILL RULE ON
- 8 EVERYTHING. MY INTENTION IS NOT TO HOLD ANYBODY IN
- 9 SUSPENSE. YOU HAVE GIVEN ME A GREAT DEAL OF MATERIAL,
- 10 WHICH I HAVE BEEN STUDYING AND HOPE TO CONTINUE TO STUDY
- 11 OVER THE NEXT TWO DAYS. I HOPE TO ISSUE A DECISION
- 12 FIRST THING ON MONDAY MORNING.
- 13 MR. JOEL: THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR.
- 14 THE COURT: MR. MAAZEL.
- 15 MR. MAAZEL: THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR, AND
- 16 THANK YOU FOR HAVING US HERE AT THIS HEARING TODAY.
- AS YOU KNOW, WE REPRESENT MR. REITZ AND
- JILL STEIN, A CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT ON THE GREEN PARTY
- 19 TICKET. THIS IS THE SECOND CLOSEST PRESIDENTIAL
- 20 ELECTION IN THE HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA. THE ONLY
- 21 CLOSER ELECTION IN THE HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA WAS
- 22 **WHEN --**
- 23 THE COURT: MR. HARVEY IS AN EXPERIENCED
- 24 HAND IN THIS COURTHOUSE AND UNDERSTANDS THAT OUR SOUND
- 25 RECORDING WON'T -- YOU DON'T EXIST IF YOU ARE NOT CLOSER

- 1 TO THE MICROPHONE. WHY DON'T YOU REMAIN SEATED. IT
- WILL BE EASIER FOR ALL OF US TO HEAR YOU.
- 3 MR. MAAZEL: THIS IS THE SECOND CLOSEST
- 4 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN THE HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA.
- 5 THE ONLY CLOSER ELECTION WAS WILLIAM HARRISON, WHEN HE
- 6 BEAT MARTIN VAN BUREN IN 1840. WE HAVE THOUSANDS OF
- 7 PEOPLE IN PENNSYLVANIA WHOSE VOTES ALMOST CERTAINLY DID
- 8 NOT COUNT. AND IN THIS PENNSYLVANIA ELECTION REGIME,
- 9 THERE IS REALLY NOTHING THEY CAN DO ABOUT IT. I JUST
- 10 WANT TO START BRIEFLY BY HIGHLIGHTING A COUPLE OF PEOPLE
- 11 WHO ARE IN OUR DECLARATIONS BEFORE THE COURT.
- 12 EXHIBIT 16 SETS FORTH THE DECLARATION OF
- 13 ANNA DURBIN, EXHIBIT 21, KIMBERLY KUPKA. THESE TWO
- 14 INDIVIDUALS LIVE IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY. THEY VOTED
- 15 THERE. AND AS THEY BOTH CAST THEIR VOTES, A "NO VOTE"
- 16 BUTTON KEPT APPEARING. THEY UNSELECTED THEIR
- 17 CANDIDATES, RESELECTED THE CANDIDATES, AND THIS "NO
- 18 VOTE" KEPT APPEARING. AND WHEN BOTH OF THEM CAST THEIR
- VOTE FOR THEIR CANDIDATES, THE "NO VOTE" BOX WAS LIT UP.
- NOW, THIS DRE ELECTRONIC MACHINES THAT
- 21 THEY USED HAVE NO PAPER TRAIL. THERE IS NO WAY FOR A
- 22 VOTER TO VERIFY THAT THEIR VOTE FOR THEIR SELECTED
- 23 CANDIDATE WAS ACTUALLY SELECTED. THEY CAN ONLY TRUST
- 24 THE MACHINE, AND THEY HAD VERY STRONG REASON TO BELIEVE
- 25 THAT THOSE VOTES DID NOT COUNT.

1 WE KNOW NOW FROM THE MONTGOMERY BOARD OF 2 ELECTION'S WEBSITE, WHICH IS EXHIBIT 46, THAT OVER 4,000 PEOPLE IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY WERE REGISTERED A NO VOTES, 3 4 DID NOT VOTE FOR ANYBODY. ALL 4,000 PEOPLE, 4,062 PEOPLE SUPPOSEDLY WENT TO THE POLLS, TOOK THEIR TIME TO 5 GO TO THE POLLS, FILLED OUT THEIR INFORMATION, PRESSED 6 THE BUTTON, DID EVERYTHING, AND SUPPOSEDLY DECIDED NOT TO VOTE FOR A SINGLE CANDIDATE FOR A SINGLE OFFICE. 8 NOW, EITHER THAT IS THE CASE OR THE DRE MACHINES DID NOT 9 WORK, EITHER BECAUSE THEY WERE HACKED OR BECAUSE THEY 10 JUST DID NOT WORK. 11 12 SO WHAT COULD THESE VOTERS DO? THE ONLY 13 REMEDY THEY'D REALLY HAVE IN PENNSYLVANIA IS TO SEEK A RECOUNT OR A RECANVASS IN THEIR PRECINCT. AND UNDER 14 15 PENNSYLVANIA LAW, THE DEADLINES FOR WHEN YOU CAN SEEK RECOUNT DEPEND OR THEY ARE TIED TO HOW QUICKLY THAT 16 PARTICULAR COUNTY IS COUNTING THE VOTE. NOW EVERY 17 COUNTY IS DIFFERENT, EVERY ELECTION IS DIFFERENT, AND 18 19 THERE IS NO WAY TO FIND OUT WHEN THE DEADLINE IS. 20 MONTGOMERY DID NOT PUBLISH THIS. THE DEPARTMENT OF 21 STATE, WHICH IN THEORY SUPERVISES ALL OF THESE BOARDS OF ELECTIONS, THEY HAD ABSOLUTELY NO IDEA WHEN THE DEADLINE 22 23 WAS TO SEEK A RECOUNT. IN FACT, IN EXHIBIT 32 A, THEY SENT US A 24 CHART ON NOVEMBER 28TH, AND IN THAT CHART IT WAS 25

- 1 SUPPOSED TO SAY WHEN EACH COUNTY'S DEADLINE WAS WHEN
- 2 VOTES WERE COMPLETED OR NOT. AND FOR MONTGOMERY THERE
- 3 WERE JUST BLANKS. THEY HAD NO IDEA. IN FACT, THE
- 4 DEPARTMENT OF STATE DID NOT KNOW FOR AT LEAST 20
- 5 COUNTIES WHEN THE COMPUTATIONS OF THE VOTE HAD BEEN
- 6 COMPLETED AND THEREFORE WHEN THE DEADLINES WERE. SO
- 7 THESE VOTERS HAD NO IDEA FROM THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT WHEN
- 8 THEY SHOULD EVEN SEEK A RECOUNT. NO ONE IS TELLING
- 9 THEM, IT IS NOT PUBLISHED. EVEN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE
- 10 DOES NOT KNOW.
- 11 SO WHAT DID THEY DO? THEY FILL OUT THESE
- 12 SWORN PETITIONS ASKING FOR A RECOUNT. THEY GO TO THE
- 13 TROUBLE OF GETTING THEM NOTARIZED. THEY DROP THEM OFF
- 14 AT THE BOARD OF ELECTIONS IN THEIR COUNTY. AND AT THE
- 15 BOARD OF ELECTIONS THEY ARE TOLD, AND THIS IS IN THEIR
- 16 DECLARATIONS, THEY ARE TOLD TOO LATE, THE DEADLINE
- 17 PASSED. AND SO WHAT ARE THEY TO DO? THEY JUST LEFT
- 18 THEM THERE AND HOPED THAT MAYBE THEY WOULD BE RECOUNTED
- 19 AND THEIR PETITIONS WOULD BE ACCEPTED.
- 20 THE COURT: MR. MAAZEL, ARE THERE ANY --
- 21 PRESENTLY, AS YOU AND I SPEAK, ARE THERE ANY RECOUNT
- 22 PETITIONS BEING CONSIDERED IN ANY OF THE 67 COUNTIES OF
- 23 **PENNSYLVANIA?**
- MR. MAAZEL: YES.
- THE COURT: HOW MANY?

- 1 MR. MAAZEL: IN TERMS OF COURT
- 2 PROCEEDINGS OR JUST AT ANY STAGE?
- 3 THE COURT: EVERYTHING. COURT
- 4 PROCEEDINGS, ELECTION COMMISSIONS, WHATEVER THE ENTITY
- 5 IS CALLED.
- 6 MR. MAAZEL: SO IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY,
- 7 THERE IS CURRENTLY --
- 8 THE COURT: YOU DON'T HAVE TO TICK THEM
- 9 OFF ONE BY ONE. COLLECTIVELY, HOW MANY?
- 10 MR. MAAZEL: IT MUST BE APPROXIMATELY SIX
- 11 OR SEVEN. I WOULD HAVE TO GO THROUGH EACH ONE.
- 12 THE COURT: THAT IS FINE. YOU'VE
- ANSWERED MY QUESTION.
- 14 MR. MAAZEL: AND SO IN THE MONTGOMERY
- 15 SITUATION, THERE WERE MANY PEOPLE IN THIS POSITION, OVER
- 16 200 PEOPLE WHO DROPPED OFF PETITIONS, DID NOT KNOW THE
- 17 DEADLINE. AND THEN THE COUNTY BOARD -- THEY JUST SAT
- 18 THERE IN A PILE AT THE COUNTY BOARD. AND THEN SOMEONE
- 19 IN THE STEIN CAMPAIGN HAD THE GOOD SENSE TO THEN TAKE
- 20 THOSE TO THE PROTHONOTARY IN COURT AND SAY, WELL, MAYBE
- 21 THEY WILL ACCEPT THEM. AND THE COURT IMPOSED A \$269.50
- FEE PER PETITION, IN TOTAL \$21,021, WHICH THE STEIN
- 23 CAMPAIGN PAID FOR ON BEHALF OF THESE VOTERS JUST SO
- THEIR PETITIONS COULD BE HEARD SOMEWHERE.
- 25 AND THEN THERE WAS A COURT HEARING. NO

- 1 NOTICE WAS GIVEN TO ANY OF THE PETITIONERS UNTIL AFTER
- 2 THE HEARING WAS OVER. AT THE HEARING, MY ESTEEMED
- 3 ADVERSARY ARGUED THAT YOU COULD NEVER HAVE A
- 4 COURT-ORDERED RECOUNT ANYWHERE --
- 5 THE COURT: MR. TABAS?
- 6 WELCOME, MR. TABAS. NICE TO SEE YOU
- 7 AGAIN.
- 8 MR. TABAS: GOOD AFTERNOON, YOUR HONOR.
- 9 MR. MAAZEL: MY ESTEEMED ADVERSARY,
- 10 MR. TABAS, ARGUED THAT THERE COULD NOT BE A SINGLE
- 11 COURT-ORDERED RECOUNT IN THIS PRECINCT OR ANY PRECINCT
- 12 UNLESS THERE WERE COURT-ORDERED RECOUNTS IN 27,000 --
- 13 I'M SORRY, 9,158 DISTRICTS BROUGHT BY 27,474 PEOPLE.
- 14 IN SHORT, UNDER PENNSYLVANIA LAW,
- 15 ACCORDING TO THEIR ARGUMENT, UNLESS YOU HAVE A RECOUNT
- 16 PETITION IN EVERY SINGLE PRECINCT IN THE ENTIRE STATE,
- 17 YOU CAN'T HAVE ONE ANYWHERE. AND THAT IS AT EXHIBIT 31
- 18 IN THE TRANSCRIPT AT PAGE 26.
- 19 THE COURT THEN DENIED ALL THESE PETITIONS
- 20 WITHOUT EXPLANATION. AND THE NET RESULT OF THE
- 21 EXPERIENCE OF THESE VOTERS IN MONTGOMERY, AND
- 22 PARTICULARLY THE TWO I JUST MENTIONED, IS THAT THEIR
- 23 VOTES ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL NOT COUNT AND THEY HAVE NO
- 24 RECOURSE AT ALL IN PENNSYLVANIA.
- 25 THIS WOULD ALL BE EXTREMELY TROUBLING BY

- 1 ITSELF, BUT IT COMES IN THE CONTEXT OF A BROADER PICTURE
- 2 HERE, WHICH IS THAT WE HAVE MACHINES, DRE MACHINES AND
- 3 OPTICAL SCAN MACHINES, WHICH TOP COMPUTER EXPERTS ARE
- 4 ALL TELLING US, UNDER OATH AND OTHERWISE, ARE
- 5 VULNERABLE, THAT THEY ARE EASILY COMPROMISED, THAT THEY
- 6 ARE EASY TO HACK.
- AND WITH YOUR HONOR'S PERMISSION, WHAT I
- 8 WOULD LIKE TO DO IS TO CALL DR. ALEX HALDERMAN TO THE
- 9 STAND, WHO IS ONE OF THE LEADING COMPUTER SURVEY --
- 10 THE COURT: I'VE ORDERED ALL THE
- 11 WITNESSES SEQUESTERED. PLEASE PRESENT DR. HALDERMAN.
- 12 MR. MAAZEL: THEN AFTER THAT, WE WILL
- 13 CONTINUE OUR PRESENTATION, IF THAT IS ACCEPTABLE.
- 14 THE COURT: IT'S YOUR PRESENTATION.
- MR. CELLI: YOUR HONOR, I'M ANDREW CELLI.
- 16 I WILL BE EXAMINING THE WITNESS.
- 17 THE COURT: EXCELLENT. YOU ALSO DON'T
- 18 HAVE TO STAND UP IF YOU DON'T WANT TO.
- MR. CELLI: IF I'M NOT STANDING, I CAN'T
- 20 SPEAK LOUDLY. ASK MY WIFE.
- 21 THE COURT: UNDERSTOOD.
- DR. HALDERMAN, PLEASE HAVE A SEAT.
- WELCOME.
- DR. HALDERMAN: THANK YOU.
- MR. CELLI: MAY I PROCEED?

- 1 THE COURT: YOU MAY.
- MR. CELLI: DR. HALDERMAN, GOOD
- 3 AFTERNOON.
- 4 THE COURT: WHY DON'T WE SWEAR THE
- 5 WITNESS, IF YOU WOULDN'T MIND STANDING, DOCTOR.
- J. ALEX HALDERMAN, PLAINTIFF WITNESS,
- 7 SWORN.
- 8 THE CLERK: STATE AND SPELL YOUR FULL
- 9 NAME FOR THE RECORD.
- 10 THE WITNESS: MY NAME IS JOHN ALEXANDER
- 11 HALDERMAN. J-O-H-N. A-L-E-X-A-N-D-E-R.
- 12 H-A-L-D-E-R-M-A-N. J. ALEX, FOR SHORT.
- 13 DIRECT EXAMINATION
- 14 BY MR. CELLI:
- Q. GOOD AFTERNOON, DR. HALDERMAN.
- A. GOOD AFTERNOON.
- 17 Q. DR. HALDERMAN, COULD YOU BRIEFLY DESCRIBE YOUR
- 18 PROFESSIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND TO THE COURT?
- 19 A. I AM A PROFESSOR OF COMPUTER SCIENCE AND
- 20 ENGINEERING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN. AND I'M THE
- 21 DIRECTOR OF SOMETHING CALLED THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
- 22 CENTER FOR COMPUTER SECURITY AND SOCIETY.
- 23 I TEACH AND RESEARCH COMPUTER SECURITY,
- 24 INCLUDING THE SECURITY OF ELECTRONIC VOTING SYSTEMS AND
- THE IMPLICATIONS OF STATE LEVEL ATTACKS.

- 1 HAVE A PH.D. IN COMPUTER SCIENCE FROM
- 2 PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, AND I HAVE AUTHORED APPROXIMATELY
- 3 70 SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS IN THESE AREAS.
- 4 THE COURT: I HAVE READ THE DOCTOR'S
- 5 AFFIDAVIT AND THE VOLUMINOUS ATTACHMENTS AS WELL AS HIS
- 6 CURRICULUM VITAE. AND I ASSUME WITHOUT OBJECTION I'M
- 7 PERFECTLY PREPARED TO QUALIFY HIM AS AN EXPERT IN
- 8 FORENSIC COMPUTER SCIENCE. DOES THAT SOUND RIGHT?
- 9 MR. CELLI: WE WOULD ASK, YOUR HONOR,
- 10 THAT HE BE QUALIFIED IN COMPUTER SCIENCE AND IN
- 11 ELECTRONIC VOTING SYSTEM SECURITY. HE HAS BEEN
- 12 PREVIOUSLY QUALIFIED IN THOSE FIELDS.
- 13 THE COURT: THAT'S FINE. YOU ARE
- 14 QUALIFIED IN BOTH AREAS, DOCTOR.
- 15 THE WITNESS: THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR.
- 16 MR. CELLI: THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR.
- 17 BY MR. CELLI:
- 18 Q. DR. HALDERMAN, YOU'VE SUBMITTED A DECLARATION IN
- 19 THIS CASE WHERE YOU DISCUSS THE PHENOMENON OF CYBER
- 20 ATTACKS OR HACKING, AND I THINK YOU USE THOSE TERMS
- 21 INTERCHANGEABLY. DO YOU RECALL THAT?
- 22 A. YES.
- 23 O. CAN YOU PLEASE TELL THE COURT WHAT YOU MEANT BY
- 24 CYBER ATTACKS OR HACKING.
- 25 A. WELL, CYBER ATTACKS AND HACKING ARE BOTH WAYS TO

- 1 DESCRIBE ATTEMPTS BY A MALICIOUS PARTY, THAT IS AN
- 2 ATTACKER, TO MANIPULATE THE BEHAVIOR OF A COMPUTER
- 3 SYSTEM, SUCH AS AN ELECTRONIC VOTING SYSTEM, IN ORDER TO
- 4 GET SOME BEHAVIOR THAT THE ATTACKER DESIRES.
- 5 O. AND IN YOUR DECLARATION, DR. HALDERMAN, YOU
- 6 DESCRIBE THAT IN PENNSYLVANIA THERE ARE TWO DIFFERENT
- 7 ELECTRONIC VOTING TECHNOLOGIES THAT ARE USED, IS THAT
- 8 CORRECT?
- 9 A. YES.
- 10 Q. CAN YOU DESCRIBE FOR THE COURT WHAT THOSE
- 11 TECHNOLOGIES ARE?
- 12 A. THERE ARE OPTICAL SCAN VOTING SYSTEMS IN
- 13 PENNSYLVANIA WHERE A VOTER FILLS OUT A PAPER BALLOT AND
- 14 IT GETS SCANNED INTO A MACHINE THAT IS A COMPUTER VOTING
- 15 MACHINE. AND THERE ARE WHAT ARE CALLED DRE, OR DIRECT
- 16 RECORDING ELECTRONIC VOTING MACHINES. THESE ARE
- 17 COMPUTERS THAT RECORD THE ONLY RECORD OF THE VOTE IN A
- 18 COMPUTER MEMORY.
- 19 Q. THANK YOU.
- 20 HAVE YOU FORMED AN OPINION, DR.
- 21 HALDERMAN, AS TO WHETHER THE ELECTRONIC VOTING
- 22 TECHNOLOGIES THAT ARE USED IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF
- 23 PENNSYLVANIA ARE VULNERABLE TO CYBER ATTACKS OR TO
- 24 HACKING?
- 25 A. YES, I HAVE.

- 1 Q. AND WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ON THAT SUBJECT?
- 2 A. I BELIEVE THEY ARE VULNERABLE. IN FACT, I
- 3 BELIEVE THAT PENNSYLVANIA'S VOTING TECHNOLOGY ARE AMONG
- 4 THE MOST VULNERABLE VOTING SYSTEMS IN THE COUNTRY.
- 5 Q. WHAT IS THE BASIS FOR THAT OPINION, SIR?
- 6 A. WELL, PENNSYLVANIA USES TOUCH SCREEN VOTING
- 7 MACHINES AND OTHER KINDS OF DRE'S THROUGH MUCH OF THE
- 8 COMMONWEALTH. AND THERE ARE SIX KINDS OF THOSE MACHINES
- 9 IN USE IN THE STATE, SIX DIFFERENT MODELS. EVERY ONE OF
- 10 THESE MODELS HAS BEEN STUDIED EXTENSIVELY BY COMPUTER
- 11 SECURITY EXPERTS, INCLUDING ME. AND WE HAVE FOUND
- 12 VULNERABILITIES IN EVERY MODEL OF MACHINE THAT WOULD
- 13 ALLOW AN ATTACKER TO SUBVERT THE SECURITY OF THE SYSTEM,
- 14 TO SPREAD MALICIOUS CODE OR OTHER FORMS OF ATTACK INTO
- 15 THE VOTING MACHINES AND COMPROMISE THEIR SECURITY,
- 16 PERHAPS CHANGING VOTES, FOR EXAMPLE, OR EVEN SABOTAGING
- 17 THE MACHINES IN OTHER WAYS.
- 18 Q. COULD YOU TELL THE COURT IN LAY TERMS PRECISELY
- 19 HOW A CYBER ATTACKER OR HACKER WOULD ACCESS THESE
- 20 MACHINES AND WHAT THAT PERSON COULD DO?
- 21 A. WELL, THERE ARE TWO WAYS THAT -- TWO PRIMARY
- 22 WAYS AN ATTACKER MIGHT TRY TO COMPROMISE THE VOTING
- 23 MACHINES. ONE IS IF AN ATTACKER GETS PHYSICAL ACCESS TO
- 24 THE MACHINE, THEY CAN TRY TO CHANGE THE PROGRAMMING IN
- 25 THE MACHINE BY TAMPERING WITH THE STORAGE DEVICE, THE

- 1 COMPUTER CHIPS OR OTHER STORAGE DEVICE IN THE MACHINE.
- 2 BUT I THINK MAYBE MORE RELEVANT TO OUR
- 3 PRESENT PURPOSES, THERE ARE POSSIBLE, THERE ARE WAYS
- 4 THAT A REMOTE ATTACKER CAN ALSO INJECT MALICIOUS CODE
- 5 INTO THE VOTING MACHINES USED IN PENNSYLVANIA, EVEN
- 6 THOUGH THE MACHINES THEMSELVES ARE NOT DIRECTLY
- 7 CONNECTED TO THE INTERNET. AND THAT IS BECAUSE THE
- 8 MACHINES ARE PROGRAMMED BEFORE ELECTION DAY WITH THE
- 9 DESIGN OF THE BALLOT. THERE ARE FILES THAT ARE COPIED
- 10 INTO THE MACHINES THAT SAY WHO'S ON THE BALLOT AND WHAT
- 11 ARE THE RACES AND SO FORTH. AND THOSE FILES ARE CREATED
- 12 ON OTHER COMPUTERS, EXTERNAL TO THE POLLING PLACE, THAT
- 13 ARE OPERATED BY THE COUNTIES OR BY OUTSIDE VENDORS. IF
- 14 THOSE OUTSIDE COMPUTERS THAT ARE USED TO PROGRAM THE
- 15 BALLOT DESIGN ARE ATTACKED, AN ATTACKER CAN MANIPULATE
- 16 THE FILES THAT ARE COPIED ON TO THE VOTING MACHINES TO
- 17 DEFINE THE RACES AND THE BALLOT. THESE FILES ARE COPIED
- 18 INTO THE MACHINES WITH A REMOVABLE STORAGE DEVICE, LIKE
- 19 A USB STICK OR A CARD SIMILAR TO THE ONE IN YOUR DIGITAL
- 20 CAMERA, AND AN ATTACK CAN TRAVEL INTO THE MACHINES,
- 21 PRIOR TO THE ELECTION, ON THOSE CARDS THAT ARE USED TO
- 22 PROGRAM THE BALLOT.
- 23 Q. SIR, HAVE YOU FORMED AN OPINION AS TO THE
- 24 LIKELIHOOD THAT ELECTRONIC VOTING SYSTEMS IN
- 25 PENNSYLVANIA WERE SUBJECTED TO CYBER ATTACKS OR HACKING

- 1 IN THE 2016 ELECTION CYCLE?
- 2 A. YES, I HAVE.
- 3 Q. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION?
- 4 A. I THINK THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT POSSIBILITY THAT
- 5 THE MACHINES IN PENNSYLVANIA WERE SUBJECT TO SUCH AN
- 6 ATTACK.
- Q. WHAT IS THE BASIS FOR THAT, DR. HALDERMAN?
- 8 A. WELL, LOOK, THIS ELECTION WAS DIFFERENT FROM
- 9 PREVIOUS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN THAT THERE HAS BEEN
- 10 AN UNPRECEDENTED LEVEL OF CYBER ATTACK ACTIVITY AIMED
- 11 QUITE OBVIOUSLY AT INTERFERING WITH THE PRESIDENTIAL
- 12 ELECTION. WE HAD OVER THE SUMMER THE ATTACK ON THE
- 13 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE THAT LED TO THE SELECTIVE
- 14 LEAK OF THEIR E-MAIL. ATTACK ON JOHN PODESTA, HILLARY
- 15 CLINTON'S CAMPAIGN MANAGER, TO LEAK HIS E-MAIL AS WELL.
- 16 ATTACKS AGAINST THE VOTER REGISTRATION SYSTEMS OPERATED
- 17 BY TWO DIFFERENT STATES, ARIZONA AND ILLINOIS, AND
- 18 REPORTED ATTACKS AGAINST MANY OTHER STATES' ELECTION
- 19 SYSTEMS PRIOR TO ELECTION DAY.
- 20 THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, THE INTELLIGENCE
- 21 AGENCIES AND DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY HAVE LINKED
- 22 THESE ATTACKS TO A FOREIGN COUNTRY. THEY SAY ONLY HIGH
- 23 RANKING RUSSIAN OFFICIALS COULD HAVE ORDERED SUCH
- 24 ATTACKS.
- NOW, WE ARE LIVING IN A TIME WHEN THESE

- 1 ATTACKS, CYBER ATTACKS LIKE THIS, STATE SPONSORED BY
- 2 FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS, ARE MORE AND MORE COMMON. YOU READ
- 3 ABOUT THIS EVERY DAY IN THE PAPER, BUT WE HAVE NEVER
- 4 SEEN A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION THAT HAS BEEN SO AFFECTED
- 5 BY THIS.
- 6 COUPLE THAT, THAT WE KNOW A FOREIGN
- GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO INTERFERE WITH THE ELECTION,
- 8 WITH THE SURPRISING RESULTS. AND SO THE RESULTS OF THE
- 9 ELECTION, WHICH DID NOT MATCH PREELECTION POLLS THAT WAS
- 10 SURPRISING TO MANY PEOPLE AND I THINK THERE IS A
- 11 SIGNIFICANT POSSIBILITY THAT WE WERE ATTACKED. AND IF I
- 12 WERE AN ATTACKER, PUTTING MYSELF INTO THE POSITION OF AN
- 13 ATTACKER, AS I DO IN MY ROLE AS A SECURITY RESEARCHER, I
- 14 THINK PENNSYLVANIA IS CERTAINLY A STATE I WOULD WANT TO
- 15 ATTACK IF I WANTED TO CHANGE THE OUTCOME OF A
- 16 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.
- 17 Q. WHY IS THAT?
- 18 A. BECAUSE PENNSYLVANIA IS -- WAS A STATE WITH VERY
- 19 CLOSE POLLING DATA. SO YOU WOULD ONLY NEED TO
- 20 MANIPULATE A RELATIVELY SMALL FRACTION OF THE RESULT IN
- 21 ORDER TO CHANGE THE OUTCOME, AND BECAUSE PENNSYLVANIA
- 22 ALSO USES BADLY INSECURE TECHNOLOGY THAT HAS BEEN SHOWN
- 23 IN STUDIES TIME AND AGAIN TO BE VULNERABLE.
- 24 PENNSYLVANIA ALSO HAS A LARGE NUMBER OF ELECTORAL
- 25 COLLEGE VOTES. AND SO BY ATTACKING PENNSYLVANIA, I

- 1 THINK PENNSYLVANIA WOULD SIMULTANEOUSLY BE A RELATIVELY
- 2 EASY STATE TO ATTACK AND ONE THAT WOULD GET A LOT OF
- 3 VALUE FOR AN ATTACKER WHO WANTED TO SWING THE NATIONAL
- 4 OUTCOME.
- 5 O. DR. HALDERMAN, CAN YOU DESCRIBE FOR THE COURT
- 6 THE KINDS OF MISCHIEF THAT COULD BE CAUSED BY A CYBER
- 7 ATTACK ON THE ELECTION SYSTEM IN PENNSYLVANIA?
- 8 A. WELL, I THINK THAT AN ATTACKER WHO WANTED TO TRY
- 9 TO MANIPULATE THE ELECTION SYSTEM IN PENNSYLVANIA COULD,
- 10 BY MANIPULATING THE SOFTWARE ON INDIVIDUAL VOTING
- 11 MACHINES, SPREADING FROM AN INFECTION INTO THESE
- 12 ELECTION MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS INTO THE INDIVIDUAL VOTING
- 13 MACHINES, COULD -- REALLY COULD ARBITRARILY CHANGE
- 14 VOTES. SO WE ARE TALKING ABOUT COMPUTER SOFTWARE THAT
- 15 IS CRAFTED BY AN ATTACKER RUNNING INSIDE THE VOTING
- 16 MACHINES BECAUSE IT'S SPREAD INTO THEM WITH THE BALLOT
- 17 **PROGRAMMING**.
- 18 NOW, THAT KIND OF ATTACK IS NOT LIMITED
- 19 TO -- IS VIRTUALLY UNLIMITED IN WHAT IT CAN DO TO THE
- 20 REPORTED RESULTS. FOR INSTANCE, I COULD VERY SIMPLY, TO
- 21 GIVE A SIMPLE EXAMPLE, I COULD PROGRAM IT TO SHIFT 5
- 22 PERCENT OF VOTES FROM THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE TO THE
- 23 DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE, AND I COULD FURTHERMORE PROGRAM IT
- 24 TO TRY TO HIDE FROM PREELECTION TESTING.
- Q. DR. HALDERMAN, YOU MENTIONED -- JUST A POINT OF

- 1 CLARITY, YOU MENTIONED THE ELECTION MANAGEMENT SYSTEM,
- 2 AND I THINK YOU MENTIONED THE VOTING MACHINES. COULD
- 3 YOU TELL THE COURT WHAT THE DIFFERENCE IS BETWEEN THOSE
- 4 TWO TERMS?
- 5 A. THE ELECTION MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS ARE THE
- 6 COMPUTERS THAT ARE USED TO CREATE THE BALLOT DESIGN
- 7 PROGRAMMING THAT IS GOING TO BE INSTALLED ON ALL THE
- 8 VOTING MACHINES ON ELECTION DAY AND ALSO USED TO
- 9 TABULATE VOTES FROM MANY DIFFERENT VOTING MACHINES AND
- 10 ADD THEM UP AFTER THE ELECTION. SO THIS IS A DISTINCT
- 11 COMPUTER OFTEN OPERATED BY A COUNTY OR OPERATED BY AN
- 12 OUTSIDE VENDOR FOR THE COUNTY.
- 13 Q. DR. HALDERMAN, YOU UNDERSTAND THAT DECEMBER 13TH
- 14 IS THE DEADLINE FOR PENNSYLVANIA AND OTHER STATES TO
- 15 DESIGNATE ELECTORS TO THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE, RIGHT?
- 16 A. YES, I DO.
- 17 Q. IN YOUR PROFESSIONAL JUDGMENT, WOULD IT BE
- 18 POSSIBLE TO DETERMINE THAT PENNSYLVANIA'S ELECTRONIC
- 19 VOTING SYSTEM HAD BEEN HACKED PRIOR TO THAT
- 20 **DECEMBER 13TH DEADLINE?**
- 21 A. YES, I DO.
- 22 Q. AND HOW WOULD YOU GO ABOUT DOING THAT?
- 23 A. WELL, IF YOU -- IF I WERE DOING THIS, WHAT I
- 24 WOULD DO, GIVEN THE LIMITED TIME, IS I WOULD CONCENTRATE
- 25 EFFORTS ON TWO THINGS. FIRST, WHERE WE HAVE PAPER

BALLOTS, I WOULD WANT TO SEE THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THOSE 1 2 PAPER BALLOTS ARE RECOUNTED, BECAUSE THE PAPER BALLOTS REPRESENT SOMETHING THAT THE VOTER TOUCHED DIRECTLY THAT 3 4 COULD NOT LATER BE MANIPULATED BY A CYBER ATTACK. SO JUST COMPARING IN A SAMPLE OF LOCATIONS WHAT IS ON THE 5 6 PAPER BALLOTS TO WHAT THE COMPUTERS REPORTED CAN TELL US IF THE COMPUTERS WERE MANIPULATED. BUT BECAUSE MOST OF PENNSYLVANIA'S VOTES ARE CAST WITHOUT A PAPER BALLOT, 8 9 THE DRE VOTING MACHINES THAT I MENTIONED THAT HAVE THESE -- THAT HAVE BEEN SHOWN TO BE VULNERABLE IN 10 RESEARCH, ACCOUNT FOR SOMETHING LIKE 70 PERCENT OF VOTES 11 12 IN PENNSYLVANIA, WE NEED A DIFFERENT STRATEGY TO DETECT 13 CYBER ATTACKS AGAINST THOSE MACHINES. AND WHAT I WOULD DO INSTEAD OF -- SINCE 14 THERE IS NOTHING TO RECOUNT, I WOULD TRY TO DO DIGITAL 15 FORENSICS ON THE ELECTION EQUIPMENT ITSELF. GIVEN THE 16 17 LIMITED TIME, I THINK THE MOST IMPORTANT PLACE TO DO FORENSICS IS THE ELECTION MANAGEMENT SYSTEM COMPUTERS, 18 19 BECAUSE THEY ARE AT WHAT WE MIGHT CALL A CHOKE POINT 20 THROUGH WHICH A MALICIOUS ATTACK WOULD SPREAD TO 21 MACHINES AT THE PRECINCTS. SO I DON'T THINK WE NECESSARILY NEED TO 22 23 LOOK AT EVERY ELECTION MANAGEMENT SYSTEM COMPUTER IN THE STATE, BUT JUST A SAMPLE OF THEM WOULD BE ENOUGH TO VERY 24 QUICKLY BE ABLE TO DETECT A CYBER ATTACK IF ONE 25

- 1 OCCURRED. I MIGHT START WITH SAY THE LARGEST COUNTY
- 2 THAT USES EACH KIND OF ELECTION TECHNOLOGY BECAUSE THAT
- 3 WOULD BE -- IF I WERE THE ATTACKER, ONCE AGAIN, THAT
- 4 WOULD BE WHERE I WOULD TARGET TO GET THE MOST POTENTIAL
- 5 VOTES CHANGED FOR A SINGLE INTRUSION.
- 6 O. APPROXIMATELY HOW LONG WOULD IT TAKE IN YOUR
- 7 PROFESSIONAL JUDGMENT TO CONDUCT A SAMPLING REVIEW OF
- 8 THE SORT YOU JUST DESCRIBED?
- 9 A. WELL, I THINK WE COULD REACH -- WE COULD
- 10 POTENTIALLY REACH A CONCLUSION THAT THERE WAS MALICIOUS
- 11 ACTIVITY IN AS LITTLE AS A DAY OR TWO. AND THEN IF
- 12 MALICIOUS ACTIVITY WERE DETECTED, THEN WE WOULD GO -- WE
- 13 WOULD HAVE TO DETERMINE, BASED ON WHAT IT WAS, WHAT TO
- 14 DO NEXT. BUT IF WE FOUND -- BUT WE COULD FIND EVIDENCE
- 15 **OF TAMPERING VERY QUICKLY.**
- 16 MR. CELLI: I HAVE NOTHING FURTHER.
- 17 THE COURT: THANK YOU.
- 18 MR. CELLI: THANK YOU, DOCTOR.
- 19 THE COURT: MS. UNGER.
- MR. JOEL.
- 21 MR. JOEL: IS IT OKAY IF I SIT HERE?
- THE COURT: ABSOLUTELY.
- MR. JOEL: THANK YOU.
- 24 THE COURT: PLEASE PUT THE MICROPHONE AS
- 25 CLOSE TO YOU AS POSSIBLE, AND SPEAK UP.

- 1 MR. JOEL: IS THAT OKAY?
- 2 THE COURT: THAT'S GREAT.
- 3 CROSS EXAMINATION
- 4 BY MR. JOEL:
- 5 Q. DR. HALDERMAN, HI. MY NAME IS KENNETH JOEL.
- 6 I'M WITH THE OFFICE OF ATTORNEY GENERAL, AND I'M
- 7 REPRESENTING THE DEFENDANTS IN THIS CASE. I HAVE A FEW
- 8 QUESTIONS FOR YOU.
- 9 I LOOKED AT YOUR AFFIDAVIT, AND I DON'T
- 10 KNOW IF YOU HAVE IT THERE WITH YOU OR NOT BUT --
- 11 THE COURT: DO YOU HAVE IT?
- 12 THE WITNESS: I DON'T HAVE A COPY IN
- 13 FRONT OF ME.
- 14 THE COURT: I HAPPEN TO HAVE A COPY IN
- 15 FRONT OF ME. DO YOU HAVE AN EXTRA, MR. JOEL?
- 16 ALL RIGHT. YOU CAN HAVE MINE, DOCTOR. I
- 17 WILL TELL YOU WHAT. WHY DON'T YOU TAKE -- I WILL GIVE
- 18 YOU THE PLEASURE OF DEALING WITH THE BOOK I HAVE BEEN
- 19 **DEALING WITH.**
- THE WITNESS: THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR.
- 21 THE COURT: YOU ARE QUITE WELCOME.
- 22 BY MR. JOEL:
- 23 Q. DOCTOR, I JUST HAD A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS
- 24 AND IT KIND OF RUNS THROUGHOUT. BUT IF YOU LOOK AT
- PARAGRAPH 10, I'M SEEING, IF A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT, IS

- 1 THAT CORRECT?
- 2 A. YES.
- ONE MIGHT EXPECT. THAT'S CORRECT?
- 4 A. YES.
- 5 Q. ATTACKERS MIGHT PROBE?
- 6 A. YES.
- 7 Q. TO FIND WAYS?
- 8 A. YES.
- 9 Q. MIGHT SPREAD?
- 10 A. YES.
- 11 Q. SOME STATES?
- 12 A. YES.
- 13 Q. NO VISIBLE SIGNS?
- 14 A. YES.
- 15 Q. WOULD EXPECT?
- 16 A. YES.
- 17 Q. IF YOU LOOK AT PARAGRAPH 12, JUST AS ANOTHER
- 18 EXAMPLE. INITIAL COMPUTER IS ALMOST?
- 19 A. WHERE ARE YOU READING THAT? I'M SORRY.
- 20 Q. SIX LINES DOWN.
- 21 A. YES.
- 22 Q. BEGINNING IN THE NEXT SENTENCE, IF?
- 23 A. YES.
- Q. MIDWAY THROUGH THAT SENTENCE, CAN?
- 25 A. **YES**.

- 1 Q. DOCTOR, WITH REGARDS TO -- AND I DIDN'T SEE
- 2 ANYTHING IN YOUR AFFIDAVIT OR YOUR DECLARATION ABOUT
- 3 THIS, DO YOU HAVE ACTUAL HANDS-ON EXPERIENCE WITH ALL OF
- 4 THE DRE'S THAT ARE USED IN PENNSYLVANIA?
- 5 A. I BELIEVE I HAVE TAKEN APART THREE OF THE
- 6 DIFFERENT MODELS AND EXAMINED MOST OF THE INTERNAL WIRES
- 7 AND COMPONENTS BY HAND MYSELF, YES.
- 8 O. DOCTOR, AS YOU WERE TESTIFYING, I HEARD SOME
- 9 OTHER WORDS SUCH AS PERHAPS, POSSIBILITY. AM I CORRECT
- 10 THAT AS YOU SIT HERE TODAY, YOU HAVE NO EVIDENCE THAT
- 11 ANY MACHINE IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA WAS
- 12 COMPROMISED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ALTER ANY VOTE?
- 13 A. THAT IS INDEED WHAT THE FORENSIC EXAMINATION I'M
- 14 TALKING ABOUT WOULD SEEK TO FIND.
- 15 THE COURT: SIR, PLEASE, DON'T ARGUE WITH
- 16 THE WITNESS. IS THAT A YES OR A NO?
- 17 THE WITNESS: I DON'T REMEMBER THE SENSE
- 18 **OF** --
- 19 THE COURT: ASK THE QUESTION.
- MR. JOEL: HAPPY TO.
- 21 BY MR. JOEL:
- 22 Q. AS YOU SIT HERE TODAY, IT IS TRUE THAT YOU HAVE
- 23 NO EVIDENCE THAT ANY MACHINE IN PENNSYLVANIA, VOTING
- 24 MACHINE OR ELECTRONIC SYSTEM THAT YOU TALKED ABOUT, HAS
- 25 BEEN COMPROMISED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ALTER ANY VOTE?

- 1 A. YES.
- 2 Q. AND I THOUGHT I READ SOMEWHERE IN THE MATERIALS
- 3 THAT YOU HAD A RECENT POST WHERE YOU WERE ASKED ABOUT
- 4 WHETHER OR NOT THE ELECTION RESULTS WERE HACKED. IS
- 5 THAT ACCURATE?
- 6 A. I DON'T BELIEVE IN WHICH I WAS ASKED.
- 7 O. DID YOU HAVE A POST IN WHICH YOU SAID THE ANSWER
- 8 TO THAT -- WHETHER OR NOT THE ELECTION WAS HACKED, THE
- 9 VOTING MACHINES WERE HACKED, YOUR ANSWER WAS PROBABLY
- 10 NOT. DO YOU REMEMBER THAT?
- 11 A. YES.
- 12 MR. JOEL: I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING ELSE.
- 13 THANK YOU. I DON'T KNOW IF MR. TABAS DOES OR NOT.
- 14 MR. TABAS: JUST FOR THE RECORD, LAWRENCE
- 15 TABAS ON BEHALF OF THE INTERVENORS WHICH INCLUDES THE
- 16 PRESIDENT ELECT AND THE OTHER INTERVENORS.
- 17 CROSS EXAMINATION
- 18 BY MR. TABAS:
- 19 Q. MR. HALDERMAN, FOLLOWING UP ON MR. JOEL'S
- 20 QUESTION, ISN'T IT TRUE THAT YOU ACTUALLY WROTE AN
- 21 ARTICLE ON NOVEMBER 23RD, 2016 IN MEDIUM, IN WHICH YOU
- 22 STATED: WERE THIS YEAR'S DEVIATIONS FROM PREELECTION
- 23 POLLS THE RESULT OF A CYBER ATTACK?
- 24 PROBABLY NOT. I BELIEVE THE MOST LIKELY
- 25 EXPLANATION IS THAT THE POLLS WERE SYSTEMATICALLY WRONG,

- 1 RATHER THAN THE ELECTION WAS HACKED. END OF QUOTE.
- 2 A. YES, THAT IS WHAT I WROTE.
- 3 Q. SO MR. HALDERMAN, THEN, ISN'T IT TRUE THAT AS OF
- 4 TODAY YOU CANNOT STATE TO A REASONABLE DEGREE OF
- 5 CERTAINTY THAT THE PENNSYLVANIA VOTING SYSTEMS WERE IN
- 6 FACT HACKED FOR THIS 2016 ELECTION?
- 7 A. YES.
- 8 MR. TABAS: NO FURTHER QUESTIONS, YOUR
- 9 HONOR.
- 10 THE COURT: DOCTOR, IS THERE ANYTHING
- 11 THAT YOU HAVE TESTIFIED TO THIS AFTERNOON, OTHER THAN
- 12 THE RESULT OF THE VOTE ON NOVEMBER 8TH, ANYTHING AT ALL
- 13 YOU HAVE TESTIFIED TO TODAY THAT YOU DID NOT KNOW BEFORE
- 14 NOVEMBER 8TH?
- 15 THE WITNESS: DIDN'T KNOW BEFORE
- 16 NOVEMBER 8TH? NO, I DON'T THINK SO.
- 17 THE COURT: ANY FURTHER QUESTIONS?
- 18 MR. CELLI: JUST A QUICK ONE, YOUR HONOR.
- 19 THE COURT: VERY WELL.
- 20 REDIRECT EXAMINATION
- 21 BY MR. CELLI:
- 22 Q. DR. HALDERMAN, THE QUESTION ABOUT THE POST THAT
- 23 YOU WROTE, WHERE YOU SAID, WAS THE ELECTION HACKED,
- 24 PROBABLY NOT. COULD YOU EXPLAIN WHAT YOU MEANT WHEN YOU
- 25 SAID THAT AND WHAT IN FACT THE ARTICLE SAYS.

- 1 A. YES. SO THAT ARTICLE WAS TALKING ABOUT NOT THAT
- 2 THE -- SO THAT ARTICLE IS COMPARING TWO DIFFERENT
- 3 POSSIBILITIES. RIGHT? WE HAVE AN ELECTION THIS YEAR
- 4 THAT HAD A SURPRISING RESULT TO MANY PEOPLE. AND IN
- 5 FACT THE POLLS BEFORE THE ELECTION WERE WRONG IN A
- 6 SIGNIFICANT WAY. AND ONE OF TWO THINGS IS POSSIBLE.
- 7 EITHER THE POLLS WERE WRONG, RIGHT, AND
- 8 THE ELECTION RESULT IS CORRECT, AND I THINK THAT IS
- 9 SIGNIFICANTLY LIKELY. BUT I ALSO THINK A SIGNIFICANT
- 10 LIKELIHOOD EXISTS THAT THERE WAS A CYBER ATTACK
- 11 BECAUSE --
- 12 THE COURT: I'M SORRY. I'M SORRY. I
- 13 THINK THE QUESTION WAS, HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN -- WHEN YOU
- 14 WERE ASKED WAS THE VOTE HACKED, YOU SAID PROBABLY NOT.
- 15 I'M NOT HEARING AN EXPLANATION FOR THAT.
- 16 THE WITNESS: I'M SORRY. I AM GETTING TO
- 17 THAT. IF I'M BEING UNCLEAR, I APOLOGIZE.
- 18 THE COURT: NOT UNCLEAR PERHAPS, BUT YOU
- 19 ARE TAKING A LONG TIME TO GET THERE.
- THE WITNESS: I'M SORRY, YOUR HONOR.
- 21 THERE ARE TWO POSSIBILITIES HERE, THAT THE POLLS WERE
- 22 WRONG OR THAT THERE WAS A CYBER ATTACK. AND I DO THINK
- 23 THAT THE MORE LIKELY OF THOSE TWO IS THAT THE POLLS WERE
- 24 WRONG. BUT I DON'T THINK THAT A CYBER ATTACK IS MUCH
- 25 LESS LIKELY THAN THAT. AND THAT IS WHY I PUT IT THAT

- 1 WAY. THE ENTIRE ARTICLE IS ABOUT WHY THE LIKELIHOOD OF
- 2 A CYBER ATTACK IS SO SIGNIFICANT THAT WE ABSOLUTELY NEED
- 3 TO INVESTIGATE THE AVAILABLE EVIDENCE IN ORDER TO MAKE
- 4 SURE THAT ONE DIDN'T OCCUR.
- 5 THE COURT: SO -- IF I'M WRONG, PLEASE
- DON'T HESITATE TO CORRECT ME. AS I HEAR YOUR TESTIMONY,
- 7 YOU ARE SAYING IT'S MORE LIKELY THAN NOT THAT THERE WAS
- 8 NO HACK, BUT THAT STILL LEAVES A SIGNIFICANT POSSIBILITY
- 9 THAT THERE COULD HAVE BEEN A HACK.
- 10 THE WITNESS: THAT IS WHAT I'M SAYING.
- 11 YES, YOUR HONOR.
- 12 THE COURT: ANYTHING FURTHER?
- 13 CAN I HAVE MY BOOK BACK? THANK YOU,
- 14 DOCTOR. UNLESS YOU PLAN ON CALLING THE DOCTOR AGAIN, HE
- 15 IS FREE TO STAY IF HE WANTS TO OR HE CAN RETURN TO ANN
- 16 ARBOR. IT'S HIS DECISION.
- MR. MAAZEL: THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR.
- 18 SO I WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE WITH WHAT I
- 19 THINK IS -- ARE THE FUNDAMENTAL LEGAL PRINCIPLES, REALLY
- 20 FIVE, THAT I THINK GUIDE YOUR HONOR'S DECISION IN THIS
- 21 PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION.
- 22 THE FIRST IS THAT VOTERS DON'T JUST HAVE
- THE RIGHT TO VOTE. THEY HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE -- THEY
- 24 HAVE THE RIGHT TO HAVE THEIR VOTE COUNT, WHICH IS THE
- 25 CLASSIC CASE IN A NUMBER OF OTHER U.S. SUPREME COURT

- 1 CASES.
- 2 THE COURT: MOVE THE MICROPHONE A LITTLE
- 3 CLOSER AND SPEAK INTO IT. WE JUST GOT ELECTRICITY HERE
- 4 IN PHILADELPHIA.
- 5 MR. MAAZEL: THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR.
- 6 THE SECOND PRINCIPLE IS THAT THE COURT
- 7 MUST WEIGH THE BURDENS ON THE RIGHT TO HAVE THE VOTE
- 8 COUNT VERSUS THE PRECISE INTERESTS IDENTIFIED BY THE
- 9 STATE, AND WHETHER THOSE INTERESTS REQUIRE THOSE RIGHTS
- 10 TO BE BURDENED, AND THAT IS THE THIRD CIRCUIT HOLDING IN
- 11 ROGERS.
- 12 THE THIRD IS THAT STATE INTERESTS ARE
- 13 LESS IMPORTANT IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. THAT IS THE
- 14 ANDERSON CASE.
- 15 THE FOURTH IS THAT WE HAVE TO LOOK AT ALL
- 16 THE BURDENS IN COMBINATION, NOT IN ISOLATION, WHICH IS
- 17 THE CONSTITUTION PARTY CASE.
- 18 AND THE FIFTH AND PERHAPS THE MOST
- 19 IMPORTANT IS THAT WHEN A STATE PROVIDES A RIGHT TO A
- 20 RECOUNT AS PENNSYLVANIA DOES, AS THE SIXTH CIRCUIT HELD
- 21 IN STEIN V THOMAS ABOUT TEN HOURS AFTER OUR BRIEF WAS
- 22 FILED, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE STATE CANNOT USE ARBITRARY
- OR UNREASONABLE PROCEDURAL RULES TO MAKE THAT RIGHT A
- 24 NULLITY. AND WITH THE COURT'S PERMISSION I WOULD LIKE
- TO HAND THIS CASE UP TO THE COURT BECAUSE IT JUST CAME

1 DOWN.

6

9

14

24

THE COURT: SURE.

3 MR. MAAZEL: THE KEY LANGUAGE, YOUR

4 HONOR, I THINK IS THE BOTTOM OF PAGE 5 AND THE TOP OF

5 PAGE 6 WHERE THE SIXTH CIRCUIT HELD THAT ONCE THERE IS A

STATE RIGHT TO A RECOUNT, THE STATE CANNOT USE ARBITRARY

OR UNREASONABLE PROCEDURAL RULES TO MAKE THAT RIGHT A

8 NULLITY. AND I WOULD SUBMIT, YOUR HONOR, THAT THAT IS

EXACTLY WHAT HAS HAPPENED AND IS HAPPENING IN

10 **PENNSYLVANIA**.

11 THE COURT: AS I UNDERSTAND, AND AGAIN,

12 AS I SAID TO THE DOCTOR, CORRECT ME IF I'M WRONG, THERE

13 HAS BEEN A LOT OF INFORMATION TO ABSORB IN NOT VERY MUCH

TIME. AS I UNDERSTAND YOUR CONSTITUTIONAL TORT THEORY,

15 IS THE APPLICATION OF THE ELECTION CODE, IN PARTICULAR

16 THE COMMONWEALTH COURT'S DECISION TO REQUIRE A MILLION

17 DOLLAR BOND, WAS EFFECTIVELY A DECISION TO NOT TO ALLOW

18 YOU A RECOUNT IN VIOLATION OF, AND AGAIN, IF I'M WRONG

19 PLEASE TELL ME, EQUAL PROTECTION, SUBSTANTIVE DUE

20 PROCESS AND THE FIRST AMENDMENT.

21 MR. MAAZEL: I THINK THAT IS A SMALL

22 PIECE OF IT, YOUR HONOR, BUT THERE REALLY -- THERE ARE

23 SEVEN BURDENS ON THE RIGHT TO HAVE THE VOTE COUNT THAT I

WANT TO IDENTIFY AND THEY NEED TO BE LOOKED AT IN

25 **COMBINATION.** 

- 1 THE FIRST IS THAT WE KNOW AND IT'S NOT
- 2 DISPUTED ON THIS RECORD THAT MANY OF THESE DRE MACHINES
- 3 DID NOT WORK. IN MONTGOMERY, IT'S SIMPLY IMPOSSIBLE
- 4 THAT 4,062 PEOPLE SHOWED UP AND DECIDED NOT TO VOTE.
- 5 AND WE HAVE AFFIDAVITS FROM MULTIPLE PEOPLE SAYING A "NO
- 6 VOTE" BUTTON CAME UP WHEN THEY TRIED TO VOTE FOR PEOPLE.
- 7 THAT IS NUMBER ONE.
- 8 NUMBER TWO, WE HAD THE EVIDENCE SUCH AS
- 9 IT IS THAT THESE MACHINES ARE VULNERABLE, THEY ARE
- 10 HACKABLE, THEY ARE EASY TO PENETRATE. AND THAT IS NOT
- JUST THE OPINION OF DR. HALDERMAN.
- 12 IT'S THE OPINION OF HARRI HURSTI. HIS
- 13 DECLARATION'S IN THE RECORD, HE SAID THE MACHINES ARE
- 14 EASILY HACKED. IT'S ELEMENTARY TO HACK THEM. AND IN
- 15 PARAGRAPH 28, YOU DON'T EVEN NEED A BACHELOR'S DEGREE
- 16 LEVEL OF SKILL TO HACK THEM.
- 17 WE HAVE THE OPINION OF DUNCAN BUELL IN
- 18 HIS DECLARATION. HE'S THE LEADING EXPERT ON INVOTRONICS
- WHICH IS USED IN 25 COUNTIES IN THE STATE, WHERE HE SAYS
- 20 THAT THAT STRUCTURE USES A NAIVE EVEN JUVENILE PASSWORD
- 21 STRUCTURE. THAT IS AT PARAGRAPH 13.
- DANIEL LOPRESTI, CANDICE HOKE. I WON'T
- 23 GO THROUGH ALL THE DECLARATIONS. BUT THEY ALL SAY MORE
- OR LESS THE SAME THING.
- THE COURT: I HAVE READ THEM.

- 1 MR. MAAZEL: THEY ALL SAY THAT THESE
- 2 MACHINES REALLY ARE ANTIQUATED. THEY USE OLD
- 3 TECHNOLOGY. THEY ARE VERY VULNERABLE. SO THAT IS
- 4 REALLY THE SECOND, I WOULD SAY, OF THE SEVEN BURDENS
- 5 THAT I AM IDENTIFYING TODAY FOR YOUR HONOR.
- 6 THE THIRD IS THAT THERE IS NO PAPER TRAIL
- 7 AT ALL. THERE IS NO WAY FOR A VOTER TO VERIFY THAT HIS
- 8 OR HER VOTE COUNTED IN THE 50 COUNTIES THAT USE DRE
- 9 MACHINES. YOU GO TO A RITE AID AND YOU BUY TOOTHPASTE,
- 10 AND YOU GET A RECEIPT TO SHOW THAT YOU BOUGHT IT. HERE
- 11 WHEN YOU GO TO A DRE MACHINE TO CAST YOUR VOTE FOR
- 12 PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, YOU HAVE NOTHING. THERE
- 13 IS JUST NO WAY TO VERIFY THAT THE MACHINE WORKED.
- 14 THE FOURTH IS THE IMMENSE DIFFICULTY TO
- 15 GO THROUGH ANY PROCEDURE IN THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA TO
- 16 SEE IF YOUR VOTE COUNTED. I BREAK THAT DOWN INTO A FEW
- 17 **DIFFERENT PIECES.**
- 18 ONE IS THAT THERE IS NO WAY TO KNOW WHEN
- 19 YOU NEED TO REQUEST THE RECOUNT, THERE IS NO NOTICE OF
- 20 THE DEADLINES. AND I TOUCHED ON THIS BRIEFLY BEFORE,
- 21 BUT I MEAN NOTICE IS JUST A BETTER DUE PROCESS IDEA,
- FROM MATTHEWS V ELDRIDGE, PRISON CASES, SCHOOL CASES.
- 23 IF THERE IS MAYBE ONE PROCEDURAL DUE PROCESS IDEA THAT
- 24 IS COMMON TO EVERY CASE, IT'S NOTICE. AND IN THIS CASE,
- 25 THERE IS NO NOTICE. EVERY COUNTY COUNTS AT DIFFERENT

- 1 RATES. EVERY COUNTY COUNTS DIFFERENTLY IN DIFFERENT
- 2 ELECTIONS. NOTHING IS PUBLISHED, AND THEN THE COUNTIES
- 3 DISAGREE AS TO WHEN THE DEADLINE IS. IS IT WHEN THE
- 4 VOTES ARE COUNTED OR IS IT FIVE DAYS AFTER?
- 5 SO IN LEHIGH THEY ACCEPT RECOUNT REQUESTS
- 6 FIVE DAYS AFTER COMPLETION OF THE VOTE. IN BUCKS IT HAS
- 7 TO BE THE COMPLETION OF THE VOTE. IN ALLEGHENY IT'S
- 8 FIVE DAYS AFTER. IN LANCASTER IT'S COMPLETION OF THE
- 9 VOTE. IT ALL DEPENDS ON THE WHIM OF THE COUNTY AND THE
- 10 MOMENT. THIS IS NOT A RATIONAL SYSTEM THAT CAN BE
- 11 DEFENDED. AND I THINK IT IS NOTABLE THAT NONE OF THE
- 12 DEFENDANTS DEFEND IT.
- 13 THERE IS NO PRECISE STATE INTEREST THAT
- 14 CAN JUSTIFY GIVING NO NOTICE WHATSOEVER TO VOTERS AS TO
- 15 WHEN THEY CAN SEEK A RECOUNT. AND IT'S THEIR BURDEN TO
- 16 IDENTIFY A PRECISE STATE INTEREST UNDER THE THIRD
- 17 CIRCUIT CASE LAW. THEY DON'T IDENTIFY ANY INTEREST AND
- 18 THERE CAN BE NONE, THERE CAN BE NO INTEREST IN HIDING
- 19 THE BALL FROM THE VOTER. SO THAT IS THE FOURTH BURDEN.
- 20 AND JUST BY WAY OF EXAMPLE, IN EXHIBIT 4,
- 21 WE HAVE THE DECLARATION OF MR. ALMQUIST, AND HE
- 22 DESCRIBES QUITE A SCENE WHEN HE TRIED TO GET HIS RECOUNT
- 23 PETITION FILED. HE FIRST WENT TO -- PARAGRAPH 4, I'M
- 24 SORRY, PARAGRAPH 5, HE WENT FIRST TO ELECTION SERVICES,
- 25 WHICH IS THE COUNTY BOARD. THEY TOLD HIM GO TO THE

- 1 COUNTY CLERK. HE WENT TO THE COUNTY CLERK. HE WAS TOLD
- 2 TO GO TO THE COUNTY SOLICITOR. HE WENT TO THE COUNTY
- 3 SOLICITOR. THEY SAID NO, YOU NEED TO GO TO THE COURT TO
- 4 THE PROTHONOTARY'S OFFICE. HE WENT TO THE
- 5 PROTHONOTARY'S OFFICE. THEY SAID NO, YOU NEED TO GO
- 6 BACK TO THE COUNTY BOARD.
- 7 THE COURT: WE'RE PROBABLY THE ONLY STATE
- 8 IN THE UNION THAT HAS THE OFFICE OF PROTHONOTARY, WHICH
- 9 IS WHY NO ONE KNOWS HOW TO PRONOUNCE IT.
- 10 MR. MAAZEL: I HAVE BEEN HERE FOR TWO
- 11 WEEKS, AND I STILL CAN'T PRONOUNCE IT. THANK YOU, YOUR
- 12 HONOR. PROTHONOTARY.
- 13 AND THEN WHEN HE WAS THERE, FINALLY THE
- 14 PROTHONOTARY -- I WON'T SAY THE WORD AGAIN.
- 15 THE COURT: MR. HARVEY WILL GIVE YOU
- 16 ELOCUTION LESSONS AFTER THE HEARING TODAY.
- 17 MR. MAAZEL: HE WAS TOLD TO FILL OUT A
- 18 COVER SHEET TO MAKE A PROPOSED ORDER TO PAY \$324 IN
- 19 FILING FEES, PAYABLE IN CASH OR CASHIER'S CHECK AND THAT
- 20 WAS AT 3:30 AND IT WAS DUE AT 4 O'CLOCK. SO IT'S JUST
- 21 -- IT'S AN IMPOSSIBLE SYSTEM FOR VOTERS TO ACTUALLY SEEK
- 22 RECOUNTS.
- 23 THE NEXT BURDEN THAT I BELIEVE IS
- 24 SIGNIFICANT IS NOT JUST THE LACK OF NOTICE, BUT THE
- 25 BURDEN ITSELF OF HAVING ANYTHING CLOSE TO A STATEWIDE

- 1 RECOUNT, WE NEED TO HAVE OVER 9,000 PETITIONS FILED BY
- 2 OVER 27,000 PEOPLE, EQUALLY DIVIDED THROUGHOUT THE STATE
- 3 IN A MATTER OF WEEKS. I MEAN IT'S AN ABSOLUTELY
- 4 INSURMOUNTABLE BURDEN. IT CAN'T BE DONE. IT HAS NEVER
- 5 BEEN DONE, AND NOT ONLY DO THEY NEED TO FILE, THEY NEED
- 6 TO GET THEIR NOTARY STAMP. THEY NEED TO PERHAPS TRAVEL
- 7 HUNDREDS OF MILES TO THE NEAREST OFFICE. THESE BURDENS
- 8 ARE FAR LESS SEVERE THAN FOR EXAMPLE THE CONSTITUTION
- 9 PARTY CASE IN THE THIRD RD CIRCUIT WHERE FEWER
- 10 SIGNATURES WERE NEEDED IN A FIVE-MONTH PERIOD, AND THEY
- 11 WERE NOT REQUIRED EVENLY DIVIDED THROUGHOUT THE STATE.
- 12 I MEAN, THE BURDEN IS IMPOSSIBLE AND I THINK ACTUALLY
- 13 IT'S VERY INTERESTING THAT THE PENNSYLVANIA SENATE
- 14 MAJORITY CAUCUS FILED THEIR AMICUS BRIEF. I DON'T KNOW
- 15 IF YOUR HONOR HAS HAD A CHANCE TO READ THAT YET.
- 16 THE COURT: I'VE READ ALL THE BRIEFS.
- 17 MR. MAAZEL: THEIR BRIEFS WERE VERY
- 18 INTERESTING BECAUSE THEY SAY WE MADE A CHOICE TO MAKE IT
- 19 IMPOSSIBLE. THEY DESCRIBED THE RECOUNT PROCESS AS
- 20 ONEROUS AND THEY SAY THAT IT'S A, QUOTE, INTENTIONAL
- 21 CHOICE AT PAGE 4. THEY WANT TO IT BE ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE.
- 22 IT'S ALMOST AS IF THE SENATE MAJORITY CAUCUS CAME TO
- 23 COURT AND SAID --
- 24 THE COURT: IF PENNSYLVANIA HAD NO
- PROVISION AT ALL FOR A RECOUNT, COULD PENNSYLVANIA DO

- 1 THAT?
- 2 MR. MAAZEL: IT WOULD BE A DIFFERENT
- 3 CASE, YOUR HONOR.
- 4 THE COURT: OH, BELIEVE ME. I UNDERSTAND
- 5 THAT. BUT COULD PENNSYLVANIA SIMPLY SAY WE ARE NOT
- 6 GOING TO PROVIDE FOR A RECOUNT. WE WILL HAVE AN
- 7 ELECTION AND THAT IS IT. WOULD THAT VIOLATE SOME
- 8 PROVISION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION?
- 9 MR. MAAZEL: PROBABLY NOT. AND
- 10 PENNSYLVANIA COULD ALSO SAY, NO ONE IN PENNSYLVANIA HAS
- 11 A RIGHT TO VOTE FOR PRESIDENT. BUT ONCE PENNSYLVANIA
- 12 **HAS --**
- 13 THE COURT: I REALLY DON'T THINK THE TWO
- 14 ARE IN THE LEAST SIMILAR.
- 15 MR. MAAZEL: WELL, IN THE SENSE THAT
- 16 **ONCE --**
- 17 THE COURT: IN THE SENSE THAT THEY ARE
- 18 NOT IN THE LEAST SIMILAR, IT'S NOT A GOOD ANALOGY.
- MR. MAAZEL: I GUESS MY POINT, AND MAYBE
- 20 I DID NOT MAKE IT WELL, IS THAT THE LEGISLATURE, AS THE
- 21 SIXTH CIRCUIT HAS SAID AND OTHER COURTS, ONCE THE
- 22 LEGISLATURE MAKES A DETERMINATION THAT VOTERS IN THAT
- 23 STATE HAVE A CERTAIN RIGHT, THEN THE CONSTITUTION KICKS
- 24 IN AND THAT RIGHT HAS TO BE EXERCISED IN A WAY THAT
- 25 COMPORTS WITH DUE PROCESS AND THE FIRST AMENDMENT AND

- 1 EQUAL PROTECTION.
- 2 IN THIS CASE, THERE IS A RIGHT, AT LEAST
- 3 IN THEORY ON PAPER, TO SEEK RECOUNTS, BUT IN PRACTICE
- 4 IT'S IMPOSSIBLE.
- 5 THE NEXT BURDEN I IDENTIFY ARE THE FEES.
- 6 AT \$50 --
- 7 THE COURT: THAT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE IN
- 8 EVERY CASE. MR. HARVEY HAS DONE IT. NOT FOR A WHILE, I
- 9 GUESS. MR. HARVEY HAS DONE IT. HE MADE A BIT OF -- IN
- 10 THE VIEW OF SOME OFFICE HOLDERS -- A NUISANCE OF HIMSELF
- 11 DOING IT.
- 12 MR. MAAZEL: AND LOOK, IN THE STATEWIDE
- 13 RACE, JUST THE \$50 FEE PER PETITION IS ALREADY A HALF
- 14 MILLION DOLLARS. THE RECORD ESTABLISHES THAT COURTS ARE
- 15 REQUIRING THE FILING OF 9,158 LAWSUITS TO BRING THESE
- 16 COURT-ORDERED RECOUNTS. AND THEY ARE IMPOSING FILING
- 17 FEES OF 2 AND \$300. THOSE FEES ARE MORE LIKE
- 18 TWO-AND-A-HALF OR \$3 MILLION.
- 19 IN THE 3RD CIRCUIT CASE --
- THE COURT: ARE YOU EQUATING, IF
- 21 PENNSYLVANIA LAW SAID THAT ONLY CAUCASIANS COULD SEEK A
- 22 RECOUNT, I COULD SEE HOW YOU WOULD SAY THAT WOULD
- 23 VIOLATE EQUAL PROTECTION. YOU ARE EQUATING THAT WITH
- 24 PENNSYLVANIA SAYING THE 67 COUNTIES ARE GOING TO
- 25 DETERMINE THEIR OWN RECOUNT PROCEDURES AND ENFORCE THEIR

- OWN RECOUNT PROCEDURES RESULTING IN A PATCHWORK OF 67
- 2 DIFFERENT PROCEDURES -- SETS OF PROCEDURES. ARE YOU
- 3 -- THAT IS WHAT I'M HEARING YOU SAY. YOU ARE SAYING
- 4 THAT DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF RACE OF A RIGHT ONCE
- 5 STATUTORILY AFFORDED IS THE SAME AS DISCRIMINATION ON
- 6 THE BASIS OF COUNTY OF RESIDENCE?
- 7 MR. MAAZEL: WELL, IT'S ONLY THE SAME IN
- 8 THE SENSE THAT THEY BOTH INVOLVE EQUAL PROTECTION
- 9 CLAUSE. BUT IT'S NOT JUST BASED ON THE COUNTY OF
- 10 RESIDENCE. IT'S THE OVERALL BURDEN PLACED ON VOTERS TO
- 11 BE ABLE TO EXERCISE --
- 12 THE COURT: HAVE YOU EVER DRIVEN THROUGH
- 13 A SPEED TRAP WHERE YOU GO THROUGH ONE TOWNSHIP AND THE
- 14 SPEED LIMIT IS 20 MILES AN HOUR, YOU GO THROUGH ANOTHER
- 15 TOWNSHIP AND IT'S 25 MILES AN HOUR, THEN YOU GO BACK TO
- 16 ANOTHER TOWNSHIP AND IT'S 20 MILES AN HOUR AGAIN, AND
- 17 IT'S THAT SECOND -- THIRD TOWNSHIP THAT ALL THE TICKETS
- 18 ARE HANDED OUT? IS THAT SOMEHOW IRRATIONAL BECAUSE EACH
- 19 COUNTY DECIDES THIS IS HOW FAST WE WANT PEOPLE TO DRIVE
- 20 IN OUR TOWNSHIP?
- 21 MR. MAAZEL: IT'S NOT QUITE MY ARGUMENT,
- 22 YOUR HONOR. MY ARGUMENT IS THAT WHEN YOU ADD UP ALL THE
- 23 BURDENS ON VOTERS IN PENNSYLVANIA, THOSE VOTERS -- THOSE
- 24 BURDENS COLLECTIVELY SO BURDEN THE RIGHT TO MAKE SURE
- 25 THAT YOUR VOTE COUNTED THAT IT VIOLATES THESE THREE

- 1 CLAUSES OF THE CONSTITUTION.
- 2 AND I WOULD JUST LOOK AT THE THIRD
- 3 CIRCUIT CASE IN BELITSKUS WHERE CANDIDATES WERE CHARGED
- 4 A FILING FEE OF BETWEEN 5 AND \$100, AND THE THIRD
- 5 CIRCUIT SAID, AND I QUOTE, THAT CLEARLY VIOLATES THE
- 6 EQUAL PROTECTION CLAUSE. A FILING FEE OF 5 TO \$100. I
- 7 MEAN THAT IS A WALK IN THE PARK COMPARED TO OUR CASE.
- 8 THE HOOPS THAT VOTERS HAVE TO GO THROUGH TO JUST ATTEMPT
- 9 TO SEE IF THEIR VOTE COUNTED ARE FAR GREATER. I MEAN,
- 10 IT'S IN A WHOLLY DIFFERENT CATEGORY FROM EVEN THE
- 11 BELITSKUS CASE WHERE THE THIRD CIRCUIT SAID IT WAS A
- 12 CLEAR VIOLATION AND THAT THAT 5 TO \$100 FEE WAS A,
- 13 QUOTE, SEVERE BURDEN.
- 14 SO JUST THE LAST WORD I WANT TO ADDRESS
- 15 AND I DO WANT TO RESERVE A LITTLE BIT OF TIME.
- 16 THE COURT: YOU WANTED TO RESERVE
- 17 15 MINUTES. THAT IS WHAT YOU'VE GOT LEFT.
- 18 MR. MAAZEL: I WILL TRY TO WRAP UP HERE,
- 19 YOUR HONOR.
- THE COURT: IT'S YOUR 15 MINUTES.
- 21 MR. MAAZEL: THE LAST BURDEN REALLY IS
- UNIQUE TO DRE'S AND THAT IS THAT BECAUSE THERE ARE NO
- 23 PAPER BALLOTS THERE IS NO WAY TO EXAMINE THEM. AND THE
- 24 ONLY WAY TO EXAMINE IF THE MACHINES ARE COMPROMISED IS
- 25 THROUGH A FORENSIC EXAMINATION. THE STATE SAYS AT PAGE

- 1 8 OF THEIR BRIEF THAT NO ONE DOES THAT FORENSIC
- 2 EXAMINATION, NEITHER THE COUNTY BOARDS AND NOT VOTERS
- 3 AND NOT CANDIDATES, THAT NO ONE HAS THAT RIGHT. AND
- 4 THAT REALLY IS THE WAY TO MAKE SURE THAT YOUR VOTE
- 5 COUNTED IN A DRE DISTRICT WHERE THERE IS NO PAPER
- 6 BALLOT.
- 7 I JUST WANT TO SAY ONE BRIEF THING ABOUT
- 8 REMEDY AND THEN I WILL STOP FOR NOW. AND THAT IS THAT
- 9 THE REMEDY WE ARE SEEKING IS REALLY NOT ON THE
- 10 PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION MOTION WHAT THE DEFENDANTS
- 11 DESCRIBE. WE ARE SIMPLY SEEKING TWO THINGS. ONE IS A
- 12 FORENSIC EVALUATION OF THE DRE CENTRAL COMPUTER SYSTEM
- 13 IN SIX COUNTIES, AND WE NAMED THEM IN DR. HALDERMAN'S
- 14 DECLARATION, ONE COUNTY PER EACH OF THE SIX DRE SYSTEMS
- 15 USED IN THE STATE. THAT'S AN EXAMINATION THAT CAN TAKE
- 16 PLACE IN ONE TO TWO DAYS. IT'S JUST COPYING A HARD
- 17 DRIVE. IT IS DONE IN CIVIL DISCOVERY ALL THE TIME.
- 18 IT'S FORENSIC IMAGING. IT CAN BE DONE AT THE EXPENSE OF
- 19 THE STEIN CAMPAIGN. IT CAN BE DONE UNDER THE
- 20 SUPERVISION OF A COUNTY BOARD. IT CAN BE WRAPPED UP BY
- 21 MONDAY. THERE IS NO REASON WHY THIS CAN'T BE DONE BY
- 22 MONDAY. SO THERE IS REALLY NO TIMING ISSUE. AND THEN
- AS TO -- IT WOULD NOT AFFECT A SINGLE VOTE, BY THE WAY,
- 24 IN THE SENSE THAT IT WOULD NOT TOUCH A DRE MACHINE.
- 25 AND THE OTHER RELIEF, WE'VE ASKED FOR A

- 1 MANUAL RECOUNT IN OPTICAL SCAN COUNTIES. AND REALLY
- 2 WHAT WE WOULD REQUEST, I THINK GIVEN THE EXIGENCIES OF
- 3 TIME, IS SIMPLY A RECOUNT OF ONE PRECINCT IN EACH OF THE
- 4 19 OPTICAL SCAN COUNTIES THAT HAVE NOT HAD A RECOUNT.
- 5 AND THAT CAN BE DONE -- I MEAN, ONE PRECINCT, YOU CAN DO
- 6 THAT COUNT IN TWO HOURS. IF THAT WERE DONE EVEN
- 7 TOMORROW, EACH COUNTY SPENDING TWO HOURS DOING THAT SORT
- 8 OF A COUNT, WE WOULD HAVE A CROSS CHECK AGAINST THE
- 9 MACHINES. SO WE WOULD HAVE A MUCH BETTER SENSE, DID THE
- 10 OPTICAL SCAN MACHINES WORK OR NOT?
- 11 SO WITH THAT I WILL STOP FOR NOW, AND I
- 12 THANK YOUR HONOR FOR THE TIME AND LOOK FORWARD TO THE
- 13 END OF THE PRESENTATION.
- 14 THE COURT: MS. UNGER, MR. JOEL.
- 15 MR. JOEL: YES, YOUR HONOR. I THINK WHAT
- 16 I WOULD LIKE TO DO, IF POSSIBLE, IS RESERVE FIVE MINUTES
- 17 OF MY 45 AT THE END FOR SORT OF A CLOSING AND AN
- 18 ARGUMENT AND GET RIGHT INTO OUR WITNESSES, IF THAT'S
- 19 **OKAY**.
- THE COURT: OKAY.
- 21 MR. JOEL: WE WOULD CALL DR. SHAMOS.
- THE COURT: MR. MAAZEL, I WANT TO BE
- 23 CLEAR, IF DR. HALDERMAN STAYS IN THE COURTROOM DURING
- 24 THIS TESTIMONY, I'M NOT GOING TO LET YOU CALL HIM AGAIN.
- MR. MAAZEL: THAT WAS NOT MY INTENTION,

- 1 YOUR HONOR.
- 2 THE COURT: OKAY.
- 3 PLEASE SWEAR THE WITNESS.
- 4 MICHAEL SHAMOS, DEFENSE WITNESS, SWORN.
- 5 THE CLERK: STATE AND SPELL YOUR FULL
- 6 NAME FOR THE RECORD.
- 7 THE WITNESS: MICHAEL. I-M-I-A-N.
- $8 \quad S-H-A-M-O-S$ .
- 9 DIRECT EXAMINATION
- 10 BY MR. JOEL:
- 11 Q. GOOD AFTERNOON, DR. SHAMOS. WHAT IS YOUR
- 12 CURRENT POSITION?
- 13 A. MY CURRENT POSITION IS -- I HAVE THE TITLE OF
- 14 DISTINGUISHED CAREER PROFESSOR IN THE SCHOOL OF COMPUTER
- 15 SCIENCE AT CARNEGIE MELLON UNIVERSITY IN PITTSBURGH.
- 16 Q. HOW LONG HAVE YOU DONE THAT?
- 17 A. WELL, I HAVE BEEN AFFILIATED WITH CARNEGIE
- 18 **MELLON SINCE 1975**.
- 19 Q. JUST BRIEFLY TELL US WHAT YOUR EDUCATION IS.
- 20 A. WELL, I STARTED OUT IN PHYSICS AT PRINCETON, GOT
- 21 AN UNDERGRADUATE DEGREE IN PHYSICS. THEN WENT TO VASSAR
- 22 COLLEGE WHILE I WAS WORKING FOR IBM, NEAR POUGHKEEPSIE,
- 23 NEW YORK. GOT A MASTER'S IN PHYSICS. THEN DURING
- 24 VIETNAM I SERVED AS AN OFFICER IN THE UNITED STATES
- 25 PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE AT THE NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF

- 1 HEALTH IN BETHESDA, MARYLAND AND GOT A DEGREE IN
- 2 TECHNOLOGY OF MANAGEMENT FROM AMERICAN UNIVERSITY.
- 3 THEN I WENT TO YALE UNIVERSITY, WHICH HAD
- 4 JUST STARTED A COMPUTER SCIENCE DEPARTMENT. I WAS THERE
- 5 BETWEEN 1972 AND 1975. I GOT THREE DEGREES DURING THAT
- 6 TIME. AND ULTIMATELY GOT A PH.D. FROM YALE AND WAS
- 7 HIRED BY CARNEGIE MELLON UNIVERSITY IN THEIR COMPUTER
- 8 SCIENCE DEPARTMENT. WHILE I WAS TEACHING THERE, I GOT A
- 9 J.D. LAW DEGREE FROM DUQUESNE UNIVERSITY IN PITTSBURGH.
- MR. JOEL: MAY I APPROACH, YOUR HONOR?
- 11 THE COURT: BEG YOUR PARDON?
- 12 MR. JOEL: MAY I APPROACH THE WITNESS?
- 13 THE COURT: SURE.
- 14 BY MR. JOEL:
- 15 O. DR. SHAMOS, IN THE INTEREST OF TIME, TO TRY TO
- 16 EXPEDITE SOME OF THIS, IS YOUR CV IN THAT PACKET THAT I
- JUST GAVE YOU, WHICH HAS BEEN MARKED AS D 5?
- 18 THE COURT: I HAVE NOT SEEN THIS BEFORE,
- BUT I HAVE TAKEN A QUICK LOOK AT IT AND I HAVE HEARD DR.
- 20 SHAMOS'S TESTIMONY. IS THERE ANY OBJECTION TO MY
- 21 QUALIFYING -- JUST TO SAVE TIME, TO MY QUALIFYING THE
- DOCTOR AS AN EXPERT IN WHAT FIELD, DOCTOR?
- 23 THE WITNESS: THE FIELD IS ELECTRONIC
- 24 VOTING AND PARTICULARLY THE ELECTRONIC VOTING PROVISIONS
- 25 OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ELECTION CODE.

- 1 THE COURT: ANY OBJECTION?
- 2 MR. TABAS: NO OBJECTION, YOUR HONOR.
- 3 MS. FRICK: WE WOULD OBJECT IF HE IS
- 4 TRYING TO BE QUALIFIED IN THE FIELDS OF CYBER SECURITY
- 5 OR COMPUTER SECURITY BUT....
- 6 THE COURT: I'M SORRY. YOUR NAME IS --
- 7 MS. FRICK: I'M SORRY. MY NAME IS ALISON
- 8 FRICK FOR PLAINTIFFS.
- 9 THE COURT: MS. FRICK.
- 10 DOCTOR, WOULD YOU AGAIN SAY WHAT IT IS,
- 11 YOU ARE QUALIFIED AS AN EXPERT IN ELECTRONIC VOTING AND
- 12 IN THE PENNSYLVANIA ELECTION CODE?
- 13 THE WITNESS: IN THE ELECTRONIC VOTING
- 14 PROVISIONS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ELECTION CODE.
- 15 THE COURT: THAT IS ALL HE IS BEING
- 16 QUALIFIED IN. IS THERE ANY OBJECTION?
- 17 MS. FRICK? THERE IS NO OBJECTION.
- 18 THE COURT: VERY WELL. HE WILL BE SO
- 19 QUALIFIED. PLEASE CONTINUE.
- 20 MR. JOEL: THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR.
- 21 BY MR. JOEL:
- 22 Q. JUST TO HIGHLIGHT ONE ASPECT, DR. SHAMOS, WERE
- 23 YOU A STATUTORILY ASSIGNED EXAMINER FOR THE COMMONWEALTH
- 24 OF PENNSYLVANIA AS IT RELATES TO OUR VOTING MACHINES?
- 25 A. YES. BEGINNING IN 1980 WITH THE PASSAGE OF THE

- 1 ELECTRONIC VOTING SECTION OF THE ELECTION CODE, THE
- 2 SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH WAS REQUIRED TO NAME THREE
- 3 EXAMINERS PURSUANT TO STATUTE TO EXAMINE VOTING SYSTEMS
- 4 SUBMITTED FOR CERTIFICATION IN PENNSYLVANIA. I WAS ONE
- 5 OF THOSE EXAMINERS FOR -- CONTINUOUSLY FOR THE FIRST
- 6 20 YEARS, FROM 1980 TO 2000. AND THEN LATER ON I DID IT
- 7 AGAIN FOR FIVE YEARS.
- 8 Q. AND IN CONNECTION WITH YOUR WORK, HAVE YOU HAD
- 9 THE OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY AND EXAMINE THE VARIOUS DRE'S
- 10 THAT ARE IN USE WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH?
- 11 A. YES. I HAVE EXAMINED ALL OF THE DIFFERENT
- 12 ELECTRONIC VOTING SYSTEMS THAT ARE USED IN PENNSYLVANIA,
- 13 INCLUDING BOTH DRE'S AND OPTICAL SCANNERS.
- 14 Q. WERE YOU INVOLVED -- ARE YOU FAMILIAR WITH THE
- 15 CASE, THE BANFIELD CASE.
- 16 A. **VERY**.
- 17 Q. WERE YOU INVOLVED IN THAT AS AN EXPERT?
- 18 A. YES, I WAS.
- 19 Q. JUST BRIEFLY WHAT WAS THE RESULT OF THAT AND
- 20 WHAT WAS YOUR ROLE?
- 21 A. WELL, THE ALLEGATION WAS MADE THAT THE VOTING
- 22 SYSTEMS USED IN PENNSYLVANIA ARE SO INSECURE THAT THEY
- 23 DEPRIVE PENNSYLVANIA VOTERS OF THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL
- 24 RIGHT TO HAVE THEIR VOTES BE COUNTED. AND I WAS AN
- 25 EXPERT FOR THE COMMONWEALTH, AND WE SUCCESSFULLY

- 1 RESISTED THAT ACCUSATION.
- 2 Q. AND DID THAT CASE GO ON FOR SOME TIME?
- 3 A. IT WENT ON FOR A VERY LONG TIME, ULTIMATELY MADE
- 4 IT TO THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA.
- 5 O. IN ADDITION TO THE BANFIELD CASE, AM I CORRECT
- 6 THAT YOU TESTIFIED AS AN EXPERT SEVERAL TIMES WITH
- 7 REGARDS TO ELECTRONIC VOTING MACHINES?
- 8 A. MULTIPLE TIMES, THAT'S CORRECT. IN TWO KINDS OF
- 9 CASES, SOME PATENT CASES, AND OTHERS SIMILAR TO THIS ONE
- 10 IN WHICH THE CHALLENGE WAS BEING RAISED AGAINST THE USE
- 11 OF ELECTRONIC VOTING.
- 12 O. LET'S GET RIGHT TO THAT THEN. HAVE YOU HAD AN
- 13 OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW THE EXPERT DECLARATIONS AND
- 14 AFFIDAVITS PROVIDED BY THE PLAINTIFFS IN THIS CASE?
- 15 A. YES, I REVIEWED ALL OF THEM.
- 16 Q. AND HOW ABOUT THE COMPLAINT THAT THEY FILED AND
- 17 THE FACTUAL ALLEGATIONS AND THAT SORT OF STUFF?
- 18 A. I'VE REVIEWED ALL OF THE FILINGS IN THIS CASE
- 19 EXCEPT THE MOTIONS FOR PRO HAC ADMISSION.
- Q. VERY GOOD.
- 21 THE COURT: YOU REALLY DENIED YOURSELF A
- 22 REAL TREAT.
- 23 MR. JOEL: THERE WERE A LOT OF THOSE.
- BY MR. JOEL:
- 25 Q. ARE YOU AWARE -- BASED ON THAT REVIEW OF THE

- 1 SCENARIOS THAT PLAINTIFFS ARE POSITING AS IT RELATES TO
- 2 WHY THEY BELIEVE THAT MALWARE CAN BE PUT ON A MACHINE
- 3 AND THAT SORT OF STUFF?
- 4 A. YES, I'M FAMILIAR WITH THEM. I DON'T KNOW WHAT
- 5 WAS TESTIFIED TO TODAY BUT....
- 6 Q. I UNDERSTAND THAT. SO LET ME TICK THROUGH --
- 7 YOU ARE AWARE WHAT THEY PUT FORWARD IN THEIR AFFIDAVITS
- 8 BECAUSE YOU READ THOSE?
- 9 A. YES.
- 10 Q. SO IS IT YOUR UNDERSTANDING THAT ONE OF THOSE
- 11 SCENARIOS IS THAT MALWARE COULD BE PUT ON THE VOTING
- 12 MACHINES AND THEN I GUESS REMAIN AFTER THE FACT?
- 13 A. YES, THAT IS ONE OF THE SCENARIOS.
- 14 O. DO YOU HAVE AN OPINION AS TO WHETHER OR NOT
- 15 THAT, GIVEN YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE ELECTRONIC VOTING
- 16 MACHINES, THE DRE'S IN THE COMMONWEALTH, DO YOU HAVE AN
- 17 OPINION AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THAT IS LIKELY OR EVEN
- 18 **POSSIBLE?**
- MS. FRICK: OBJECTION, YOUR HONOR. HE
- 20 HAS NOT BEEN --
- 21 THE COURT: OVERRULED.
- 22 THE WITNESS: YES, I DO.
- 23 BY MR. JOEL:
- 24 Q. DO YOU HOLD THAT OPINION TO A REASONABLE DEGREE
- 25 OF CERTAINTY IN YOUR FIELD?

- 1 A. YES.
- 2 Q. WHAT IS THAT OPINION?
- 3 A. OKAY. SO LET'S BE VERY SPECIFIC ABOUT THIS.
- 4 IF YOU GET A MACHINE OF ANY KIND INTO A
- 5 LABORATORY AND YOU ARE ALLOWED UNFETTERED ACCESS TO IT,
- 6 YOU CAN PLAY AROUND WITH IT AND HACK IT, YOU CAN BREAK
- 7 INTO ANYTHING. THE QUESTION IS WHETHER THE SAME KINDS
- 8 OF MANIPULATIONS WOULD BE POSSIBLE OR PRACTICAL IN A
- 9 REAL ELECTION GIVEN THE WAY THE VOTING MACHINES ARE
- 10 STORED, PREPARED FOR USE, TESTED, AND TABULATIONS DONE
- 11 AND I DON'T THINK IT'S POSSIBLE.
- 12 Q. PLEASE EXPLAIN WHY NOT.
- 13 A. OKAY. SO IF THERE IS MALWARE THAT IS PRESENT ON
- 14 A MACHINE BEFORE THE ELECTION, THEN WHEN WE TRY TO TEST
- 15 THE MACHINE TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT IT'S GOING TO
- 16 COUNT VOTES CORRECTLY, IT SHOULD FAIL. AFTER THE
- 17 ELECTION, IT SHOULD ALSO FAIL. IF IT IS THE TYPE OF
- 18 MALWARE THAT IS SENSITIVE TO TIME, THAT IS IT LOOKS AT
- 19 THE CLOCK THAT IS ON THE VOTING MACHINE AND SO THAT IT
- 20 ONLY BEHAVES IMPROPERLY DURING THE ELECTION, THEN THAT
- 21 KIND OF BEHAVIOR CAN BE TESTED THROUGH A PROCESS CALLED
- 22 PARALLEL TESTING AND RULED OUT.
- 23 FURTHERMORE, IF THE MALWARE REMAINS ON
- 24 THE MACHINE AFTER THE ELECTION, THEN IT'S SIMPLICITY
- 25 ITSELF TO DETERMINE IF THE MALWARE IS STILL THERE BY

- 1 COMPARING WHAT'S REFERRED TO AS THE HASH FUNCTION OF THE
- 2 SOFTWARE WITH RECORDED AND STORED HASH FUNCTIONS IN
- 3 GOVERNMENTAL LIBRARIES.
- 4 Q. AND AS IT RELATES TO THE ABILITY TO PUT THIS
- 5 MALWARE ON THE CENTRALIZED COMPUTER WHERE THE ELECTION
- 6 SYSTEM INFORMATION IS STORED?
- 7 A. YES. BUT LET ME FINISH THE PREVIOUS ANSWER.
- 8 Q. SURE. I'M SORRY. GO AHEAD.
- 9 A. BECAUSE WE WERE TALKING ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF
- 10 INFECTING ONE MACHINE. IT TAKES TIME TO DO THAT. IT
- 11 TAKES ACCESS TO THE MACHINE. ONE HAS TO BREAK SEALS, DO
- 12 THINGS TO THE MACHINE AND THEN APPLY COUNTERFEIT SEALS
- 13 BACK TO THE MACHINE IN SUCH A WAY THAT NOBODY NOTICES
- 14 WHAT IS GOING ON. AND TO DO THIS TO ANY SIGNIFICANT
- 15 NUMBER OF MACHINES REQUIRES AN INCREDIBLY LONG TIME. I
- 16 DID A CALCULATION EARLIER THIS YEAR AND FOUND THAT IT
- 17 WOULD TAKE FOUR MONTHS TO DO IT FOR THE DRE MACHINES
- 18 THAT ARE USED IN MY COUNTY, ALLEGHENY COUNTY. NOBODY
- 19 HAS UNFETTERED ACCESS TO THE MACHINE WAREHOUSE FOR FOUR
- 20 MONTHS WITHOUT BEING OBSERVED.
- 21 NOW, THE NEXT QUESTION ABOUT THE
- 22 CENTRAL -- ABOUT THE CENTRAL COMPUTERS. SO BY CENTRAL
- 23 COMPUTER WE MEAN A MACHINE THAT IS OPERATED BY A COUNTY
- 24 AND IS USED PRIMARILY FOR THE PURP -- ACTUALLY FOR
- 25 SEVERAL PURPOSES. ONE IS TO MAINTAIN A DATABASE OF THE

- 1 VARIOUS BALLOT STYLES THAT ARE GOING TO BE USED AT THE
- 2 POLLING PLACES IN THAT PRECINCT. ANOTHER THING THAT IT
- 3 DOES IS, IT MAINTAINS TYPICALLY TABULATION SOFTWARE SO
- 4 THAT THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION CAN BE TABULATED IN A
- 5 CENTRALIZED PLACE SO OVERALL TOTALS CAN BE OBTAINED.
- 6 THOSE MACHINES, THEY ARE OPERATED UNDER
- 7 DIFFERENT PROTOCOLS AND PROCESSES IN THE DIFFERENT
- 8 COUNTIES IN THE STATE. BUT TYPICALLY THE CENTRAL
- 9 ELECTION MACHINE IS DEDICATED SOLELY TO THAT PURPOSE AND
- 10 IS ONLY TURNED ON A FEW TIMES A YEAR. IT'S NEVER
- 11 CONNECTED TO THE INTERNET. AND IT'S NEVER USED FOR ANY
- 12 OTHER PURPOSE, UNDERSTANDING THAT THE SOFTWARE THAT RUNS
- 13 ON THE VOTING MACHINES THEMSELVES DOES NOT COME FROM
- 14 THAT COMPUTER. AND FURTHERMORE, THE TABULATIONS OF
- 15 THOSE COMPUTERS DO UNOFFICIAL ONLY, AND THEY ARE USED
- 16 FOR REPORTING TO THE PRESS ON ELECTION NIGHT. THEY ARE
- 17 NOT USED TO DETERMINE WHO THE WINNER OF AN ELECTION IS.
- 18 Q. AND WHAT IS A PEB?
- 19 A. PEB IS AN ABBREVIATION FOR PORTABLE ELECTRONIC
- 20 BALLOT. IT'S A CARTRIDGE ABOUT THE SIZE OF A PACK OF
- 21 CIGARETTES THAT IS USED WITH THE IVOTRONIC VOTING
- 22 MACHINES. WHEN A VOTER PRESENTS THEMSELVES AT THE
- 23 POLLING PLACE AND ASKS TO VOTE, IF -- AFTER THEY SIGN
- 24 IN, THEY ARE ESCORTED TO ONE OF THE MACHINES BY A POLL
- 25 WORKER. THE POLL WORKER HAS ONE OF THESE PEB'S THAT HAS

- 1 THE APPROPRIATE BALLOT STYLE FOR THAT PARTICULAR
- 2 ELECTION THAT THE VOTER IS QUALIFIED TO VOTE IN. FOR
- 3 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, EVERYONE GETS THE SAME ONE. BUT
- 4 FOR PRIMARIES, FOR EXAMPLE, YOU CAN ONLY VOTE IN THE
- 5 PRIMARY FOR WHICH YOU ARE A REGISTERED VOTER. SO A
- 6 DEMOCRAT WOULD GET A DIFFERENT PEB THAN THE REPUBLICAN
- 7 WOULD. THE VOTER DOES NOT TOUCH THESE. THEY ARE
- 8 INSERTED IN THE MACHINE. THEY CONTAIN -- IN THAT USAGE
- 9 THEY ONLY CONTAIN DATA, TELLING THE NAMES OF THE
- 10 CANDIDATES, THE PARTIES THEY ARE AFFILIATED WITH AND
- 11 FUNDAMENTALLY GRAPHIC INFORMATION ABOUT HOW THE BALLOT
- 12 IS TO APPEAR ON THE SCREEN.
- 13 O. THERE IS NO SOFTWARE ON THOSE?
- 14 A. WELL, THEY HAVE SOFTWARE ON THEM BECAUSE THEY
- 15 HAVE TO INTERACT WITH THE MACHINE BUT THEY DON'T HAVE
- 16 SOFTWARE THAT IS THEN UPLOADED TO THE MACHINE.
- 17 THE COURT: WHEN I GO TO VOTE IN
- 18 PHILADELPHIA, FOR INSTANCE, I HAVE NOTICED IN -- WHEN I
- 19 WAIT ON LINE IN THE PRIMARY, THE PEOPLE AT THE POLL WILL
- 20 CALL OUT A POLITICAL PARTY OF THE VOTER PRESUMABLY, AND
- 21 SOMEBODY WILL PULL ALMOST WHAT LOOKS LIKE AN INK
- 22 CARTRIDGE OUT OF THE MACHINE AND INSERT ANOTHER ONE.
- 23 THEN WHEN THE PARTY CHANGES, THEY WILL PULL OUT THE INK
- 24 CARTRIDGE AND INSERT THE FIRST ONE. IS THAT WHAT YOU
- 25 ARE TALKING ABOUT?

- 1 THE WITNESS: THAT'S RIGHT. IT'S
- 2 DIFFERENT IN PHILADELPHIA THAN IT IS IN PITTSBURGH.
- 3 THE COURT: ALWAYS.
- 4 THE WITNESS: THE CONCEPT IS THE SAME.
- 5 BY MR. JOEL:
- 6 O. AND WHEN WE -- WHEN WE ARE TALKING ABOUT THE
- 7 CENTRALIZED COMPUTER AND THE PEB'S, WHEN WE ARE ON --
- 8 WHEN THE MACHINES ARE OPENED, IS THERE THE ABILITY TO
- 9 HAVE THAT MACHINE ACCEPT NEW SOFTWARE?
- 10 A. WELL, YOU MEAN OPEN FOR VOTING?
- 11 Q. YES.
- 12 A. THE POLLS BEING OPEN, NO.
- 13 SO THE CENTRAL COMPUTER IS WHERE I SAID
- 14 EARLIER IS THE DATABASE OF ALL OF THE CANDIDATES AND
- 15 OFFICES AND QUESTIONS, WHATEVER IS GOING TO BE ON THE
- 16 BALLOTS IN ANY OF THE POLLING PLACES IN THAT COUNTY,
- 17 THEY ARE GOING TO BE IN A DATABASE ON THE CENTRAL
- 18 MACHINE. THE CENTRAL MACHINE IS THEN USED TO MAKE -- TO
- 19 PUT THAT DATA ONTO PEB'S WHICH ARE THEN DISTRIBUTED TO
- 20 THE POLLING PLACES SO THEY HAVE THE APPROPRIATE BALLOT
- 21 STYLES. THAT IS ONE USE OF THE PEB'S.
- 22 ANOTHER USE OF THE PEB'S IS ALSO TO
- 23 DISTRIBUTE NEW VERSIONS OF SOFTWARE. WHEN THERE IS A
- 24 MAINTENANCE RELEASE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT HAS BEEN APPROVED
- 25 BY THE SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH, THE WAY THAT IS

- 1 INSTALLED IN THE DIFFERENT VOTING MACHINES IS TO OPEN
- 2 THEM UP IN A DIFFERENT MODE THAN IS USED DURING THE
- 3 ELECTION, THEY ARE OPENED IN MAINTENANCE MODE. THEN THE
- 4 PEB IS INSERTED AND IT OVERWRITES THE SOFTWARE THAT IS
- 5 ON THE MACHINE. THIS CANNOT BE DONE DURING AN ELECTION
- 6 BECAUSE WHEN THE POLLS HAVE BEEN OPENED, IT WILL NOT GO
- 7 INTO THE MODE THAT ALLOWS NEW SOFTWARE TO BE UPLOADED.
- 8 ONE WOULD HAVE TO CLOSE THE POLLS. AND WHEN YOU CLOSE
- 9 THE POLLS, OF COURSE A TOTALS TAPE IS PRODUCED. I'M
- 10 IMAGINING A SCENARIO IN WHICH A VOTER WALKS INTO A
- 11 POLLING PLACE WITH ONE OF THESE -- A FORGED PEB IN HIS
- 12 POCKET WITH THE INTENTION OF CHANGING THE SOFTWARE ON
- 13 THE VOTING MACHINE. IN ORDER TO MAKE THAT WORK, HE
- 14 WOULD TO HAVE CLOSE THE POLLS AND CAUSE THAT TOTALS TAPE
- 15 TO BE PRODUCED. THEN HE WOULD HAVE TO OPEN THE POLLS.
- 16 AND WHEN HE OPENS THE POLLS, THERE IS ANOTHER TAPE THAT
- 17 IS PRODUCED CALLED A ZERO TAPE TO PROVE THAT THERE ARE
- 18 NO VOTES ON THE MACHINE. THAT TAPE HAS TO BE SIGNED BY
- 19 THE JUDGES OF ELECTION. SO THERE IS NO CONCEIVABLE WAY
- 20 THAT A VOTER HIMSELF COULD DO ANYTHING LIKE THIS BECAUSE
- 21 HE IS NOT THE JUDGE OF ELECTION. WE ARE GOING TO NOTICE
- 22 IF IN THE MIDDLE OF AN ELECTION, THE VOTING MACHINE
- 23 STARTS PRINTING ITS TOTALS TAPE.
- 24 Q. MOVING ON TO ANOTHER SCENARIO, THIS SUPER
- 25 SOPHISTICATED MALWARE THAT WILL DISAPPEAR AT THE END.

- 1 DO YOU HAVE AN OPINION AS TO WHETHER THE DRE'S AND THE
- 2 OTHER VOTING MACHINES IN THE COMMONWEALTH ARE -- WHETHER
- 3 THAT IS A LIKELY SCENARIO OR A POSSIBLE SCENARIO TO HAVE
- 4 HAPPEN --
- 5 A. YES.
- 6 O. -- TO ALTER AN ELECTION?
- 7 A. I DO.
- 8 MS. FRICK: OBJECTION, YOUR HONOR. THIS
- 9 GOES BEYOND THE SCOPE OF HIS EXPERTISE.
- 10 THE COURT: OVERRULED.
- 11 BY MR. JOEL:
- 12 O. DO YOU HAVE THAT OPINION WITHIN A REASONABLE
- 13 DEGREE OF CERTAINTY IN YOUR FIELD?
- 14 A. YES.
- 15 Q. WHAT'S YOUR OPINION?
- 16 A. THIS SCENARIO WAS DREAMED UP SOMEWHERE AROUND
- 17 TEN YEARS AGO. IT CAME UP FIRST IN -- AT THE OFFICE OF
- 18 THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF CALIFORNIA. AND I HAD A
- 19 CONFERENCE CALL WITH THE EXAMINERS FOR CALIFORNIA OVER
- 20 THIS VERY SCENARIO. AND THEY ASKED ME WHETHER THERE WAS
- 21 ANY WAY OF PREVENTING IT OR AT LEAST DETECTING IT IF IT
- 22 OCCURRED. AND THAT IS WHERE I BASICALLY DEVISED THE
- 23 METHOD NOW CALLED PARALLEL TESTING, IN WHICH A NUMBER OF
- 24 MACHINES WOULD BE SEQUESTERED DURING THE ELECTION. THEY
- 25 WOULD BE OPENED AS NORMAL AS IF THEY WERE GOING TO BE

VOTED ON BY REAL VOTERS. BUT INSTEAD OF BEING VOTED ON 1 2 BY REAL VOTERS, THEY WOULD BE VOTED ON BY COUNTY EMPLOYEES FOLLOWING A PARTICULAR SCRIPT OF EXACTLY WHOM 3 4 SHOULD BE VOTED FOR. AND THE IDEA IS WE WOULD KNOW IN ADVANCE WHAT THE TOTALS WOULD BE IF THOSE BALLOTS WERE 5 6 CAST THAT WAY. AND THEN DURING THE ELECTION, ALL DAY LONG, UNTIL THE POLLS CLOSE, THE COUNTY EMPLOYEES VOTE ON THESE MACHINES. AND AT THE END, WHAT WE'LL DO IS WE 8 9 WILL PRINT THE TOTALS TAPE. NOW LET'S SUPPOSE THERE WAS MALWARE IN THERE THAT ERASED ITSELF AT THE CLOSE OF 10 POLLS SO WE CAN'T DO A FORENSIC EXAMINATION AND 11 12 DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT THAT PARTICULAR SOFTWARE IS IN 13 THERE. UNLESS -- IF THE MALWARE WERE GOING TO BE SWAPPING VOTES, THEN WE WOULD GET THE WRONG TOTALS. 14 I HAVE ALSO CHALLENGED MY COLLEAGUES WHO 15 HAVE COME UP WITH THIS SCENARIO, TO WRITE DOWN, SHOW ME 16 A SOFTWARE ARCHITECTURE THAT WOULD ACTUALLY PERMIT THIS 17 TO BE DONE. WHAT THEY SAY IS ESSENTIALLY WE DON'T HAVE 18 19 TO DO THAT. ALL WE HAVE TO DO IS HAVE YOU PROVE TO US THAT IT CAN'T BE DONE. AND ONE OF THE THINGS YOU WOULD 20 21 HAVE TO DO OF COURSE IS YOU CAN'T WILLY-NILLY MOVE VOTES FROM ONE PARTY OR ONE CANDIDATE TO ANOTHER AT WILL. THE 22 23 REASON IS THAT TREMENDOUS SUSPICION WOULD BE RAISED IMMEDIATELY IF THE VOTES WERE SUFFICIENTLY OUT OF WHACK 24 IN A PARTICULAR PRECINCT EVEN, LET ALONE A COUNTY. 25

- 1 WHICH MEANS THAT THIS SUPER WONDERFUL MALWARE HAS TO
- 2 HAVE WITHIN IT A DATABASE OF ALL OF THE PRECINCTS IN
- 3 PENNSYLVANIA AND KNOW EXACTLY AS OF ELECTION DAY HOW
- 4 MUCH IT'S POSSIBLE TO MOVE THE VOTE WITHOUT PEOPLE
- 5 GETTING SUSPICIOUS. AS WE KNOW FROM POLLING WHETHER OR
- 6 NOT SOMEONE IS LIKELY TO WIN THE ELECTION, THE
- 7 ASSESSMENT OF THAT CHANGES TREMENDOUSLY DURING THE DAYS
- 8 LEADING UP TO THE ELECTION. SO IF THIS MALWARE IS
- 9 SOMEHOW IMPLANTED IN THE MACHINE LONG IN ADVANCE OF THE
- 10 ELECTION, IT CAN'T POSSIBLY OPERATE PROPERLY.
- 11 ANOTHER THING THAT I'VE CHALLENGED THEM
- 12 WITH, AND NOBODY HAS COME UP WITH AN ANSWER TO IT, IS TO
- 13 ACTUALLY SHOW ME THIS CODE THAT WE CANNOT DETECT AS
- 14 PRESENT IN THE MACHINE AFTER THE ELECTION. WE CAN
- 15 CERTAINLY DETECT THAT IT IS PRESENT IN THE MACHINE
- 16 BEFORE THE ELECTION, BECAUSE IT HAS NOT HAD A CHANCE TO
- 17 ERASE ITSELF. I CHALLENGED THEM AGAIN TO TELL ME HOW
- 18 ONE WOULD EVER INTRODUCE THIS MALWARE INTO A SUFFICIENT
- 19 NUMBER OF VOTING MACHINES TO CAUSE ANY REAL CHANGE IN
- 20 THE ELECTION. NOBODY HAS EVER BEEN ABLE TO COME UP WITH
- 21 THAT. NO ONE HAS EVER WRITTEN ABOUT IT EVEN.
- 22 Q. YOU'VE MENTIONED A COUPLE OF TIMES LOGS AND
- 23 PRINTOUTS AND THINGS LIKE THAT. AND I JUST WANT TO MAKE
- 24 SURE THAT THIS IS COVERED. DO YOU UNDERSTAND ONE OF THE
- 25 POSITIONS THE PLAINTIFFS ARE TAKING IS THAT THE DRE'S

- 1 ARE PAPERLESS?
- 2 A. YES. THE WORD IS USED FREQUENTLY AND
- 3 PEJORATIVELY TO DESCRIBE ELECTRONIC VOTING MACHINES.
- 4 Q. ARE THESE ELECTRONIC VOTING MACHINES PAPERLESS?
- 5 A. THERE IS NOT A SINGLE PAPERLESS VOTING MACHINE
- 6 IN PENNSYLVANIA, AND I DON'T KNOW OF ANY IN THE REST OF
- 7 THE COUNTRY. IN FACT, IT'S A REQUIREMENT OF THE
- 8 PENNSYLVANIA ELECTION CODE THAT EVERY MACHINE BE CAPABLE
- 9 OF MAINTAINING A PERMANENT PHYSICAL RECORD OF EVERY VOTE
- 10 CAST. AND WE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WHEN I WAS
- 11 DOING EXAMINATIONS, INTERPRETED PERMANENT PHYSICAL
- 12 RECORD TO MEAN PAPER OR ITS EQUIVALENT, NOT AN
- 13 ELECTRONIC RECORD IN FIRMWARE.
- 14 O. I WOULD LIKE TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT ANOTHER
- 15 SCENARIO POSITED, THE RUSSIANS HACKING OF THE DNC IN
- 16 ARIZONA AND ILLINOIS AND THAT THING. DO YOU HAVE AN
- 17 OPINION AS TO THE LIKELIHOOD OF WHETHER THAT WOULD HAVE
- 18 **HAPPENED?**
- 19 A. WELL, I'M NOT GIVING YOU AN OPINION ON WHETHER
- 20 THE RUSSIANS HACKED THE DNC OR NOT. I THINK YOU ARE
- 21 ASKING ME WHETHER THE RUSSIANS COULD HAVE HACKED THE
- 22 VOTING SYSTEM OF PENNSYLVANIA.
- 23 O. SURE.
- 24 A. AS FAR AS I KNOW, THE DNC DOES NOT RUN
- 25 PENNSYLVANIA ELECTIONS. AS FAR AS I KNOW, THE SERVER

- 1 THAT WAS HACKED INTO AT THE DNC WAS AN E-MAIL SERVER.
- WE DON'T CONDUCT ELECTIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA VIA E-MAIL.
- 3 SO NOBODY HAS TOLD ME IN THIS RUSSIAN HACK SCENARIO
- 4 EXACTLY WHAT IT WOULD BE THAT THEY WOULD BE HACKING.
- 5 THERE IS NOT A CENTRAL PLACE IN PENNSYLVANIA THAT HAS A
- 6 COMPUTER THAT YOU COULD HACK THAT WOULD CHANGE THE
- 7 OUTCOME OF AN ELECTION. THERE ARE CENTRAL COMPUTERS
- 8 THAT MAINTAIN RECORDS OF REGISTERED VOTERS. THAT IS A
- 9 DIFFERENT SCENARIO.
- 10 Q. WHILE WE ARE TALKING ABOUT IT, IN PENNSYLVANIA,
- 11 IS IT YOUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE ELECTION PROCESS IS
- 12 VERY DECENTRALIZED DOWN TO THE COUNTY AND EVEN PRECINCT
- 13 **LEVEL?**
- 14 A. WELL, IT IS DECENTRALIZED IN MOST OF THE
- 15 COUNTRY. ELECTIONS ARE CONDUCTED COUNTY BY COUNTY IN
- 16 THE UNITED STATES, AND I THINK THERE ARE ABOUT SOMETHING
- 17 LIKE 3,150 COUNTIES.
- MS. FRICK: OBJECTION, YOUR HONOR. THIS
- 19 GOES BEYOND THE SCOPE OF HIS EXPERTISE.
- THE COURT: OVERRULED.
- 21 THE WITNESS: IN PENNSYLVANIA WE HAVE A
- 22 NUMBER OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF VOTING SYSTEMS COMING FROM
- 23 DIFFERENT MANUFACTURERS THAT ARE USED IN GEOGRAPHICALLY
- 24 DISPARATE PARTS OF THE STATE.
- THE COURT: BEFORE YOU CONTINUE, I

- 1 APOLOGIZE. JUST IN LIGHT OF MS. FRICK'S OBJECTIONS, I
- 2 ASSUME YOU ARE MOVING TO ADMIT THE AFFIDAVIT OF DR.
- 3 SHAMOS AND HIS REPORT?
- 4 MR. JOEL: YES, YOUR HONOR. I WAS GOING
- 5 TO DO IT AT THE CLOSE OF HIS TESTIMONY, BUT, YES.
- 6 THE COURT: I'M LARGELY OVERRULING YOUR
- OBJECTIONS, MS. FRICK, BASED ON WHAT I HAVE SEEN IN
- 8 THESE DOCUMENTS.
- 9 GO ON, DOCTOR. I APOLOGIZE. THEY WILL
- 10 BE ADMITTED.
- 11 THE WITNESS: WHERE WERE WE?
- 12 BY MR. JOEL:
- 13 O. YOU WERE TALKING ABOUT THE DECENTRALIZED
- 14 **NATURE** --
- 15 THE COURT: ALL OVER -- LARGELY
- DECENTRALIZED ALL OVER THE COUNTRY.
- 17 THE WITNESS: AND IT'S DECENTRALIZED ALSO
- 18 IN PENNSYLVANIA. THERE IS NO CENTRAL PLACE THAT ONE
- 19 COULD ATTACK THAT WOULD INFECT THESE VARIOUS COMPLETELY
- 20 DIFFERENT VOTING SYSTEMS THAT ARE DISTRIBUTED BY TOTALLY
- 21 DIFFERENT MANUFACTURERS. ONE WOULD HAVE TO ATTACK, IF
- 22 ANYTHING, THE INDIVIDUAL COUNTIES. AS I SAID BEFORE,
- 23 WHAT YOU WOULD BE ATTACKING THERE, AND I'M NOT SURE HOW
- 24 YOU WOULD DO IT BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT CONNECTED TO THE
- 25 INTERNET. BUT EVEN IF YOU WERE ABLE TO ATTACK THE

- 1 COUNTY CENTRAL COMPUTER, THAT IS NOT AN EFFECTIVE WAY TO
- 2 GET MALWARE DOWN TO ANY OF THE VOTING MACHINES.
- 3 BY MR. JOEL:
- 4 Q. LET'S TALK ABOUT THE STUXNET. ARE YOU AWARE
- 5 THAT THAT IS ONE OF THE SCENARIOS THAT PLAINTIFFS ARE
- 6 POSITING?
- 7 MS. FRICK: I'M SORRY, YOUR HONOR. I
- 8 HAVE TO OBJECT.
- 9 THE COURT: WELL IT'S IN ONE OF YOUR
- 10 AFFIDAVITS SO I'M GOING TO OVERRULE IT.
- 11 THE WITNESS: YES.
- 12 BY MR. JOEL:
- 13 O. DO YOU HAVE AN OPINION AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THAT
- 14 IS A POSSIBLE WAY TO AFFECT THE PENNSYLVANIA VOTING
- MACHINES SUCH THAT VOTES WOULD BE ALTERED?
- 16 A. YEAH, I DO HAVE AN OPINION.
- 17 Q. IS THAT WITHIN A REASONABLE DEGREE OF CERTAINTY
- 18 IN YOUR FIELD?
- 19 A. YES.
- Q. WHAT IS THE OPINION?
- 21 A. OKAY. WELL, LET'S LOOK AT WHAT HAPPENED WITH
- 22 STUXNET. SO FOR YEARS THE OPPONENTS OF ELECTRONIC
- 23 VOTING HAVE BEEN STYMIED BY THE IDEA THAT IF A MACHINE
- 24 IS NOT CONNECTED TO THE INTERNET, THEN NORMAL HACKING
- 25 TECHNIQUES WILL NOT GET TO IT. AFTER STUXNET THEY GOT

- 1 AN IDEA, WHICH IS, AND STUXNET PROVES, THAT YOU CAN
- 2 INFECT A MACHINE EVEN IF IT IS NOT CONNECTED TO THE
- 3 INTERNET AND NEVER IN ITS LIFE HAS BEEN CONNECTED TO THE
- 4 INTERNET. I AGREE WITH THAT.
- 5 SO WHAT THE STUXNET WORM WAS, IT WAS
- 6 MALWARE THAT WAS INSERTED AT THE MANUFACTURER. IT WAS
- 7 SIEMENS, WHO WAS THE MANUFACTURER OF THE IRANIAN
- 8 CENTRIFUGES. BECAUSE IT WAS INFECTED AND NO TESTING WAS
- 9 DONE, THE WORM MADE IT INTO IRANIAN CENTRIFUGES. IT
- 10 ACTUALLY MADE IT INTO MANY OTHER CENTRIFUGES, TOO, BUT
- 11 WAS PROGRAMMED TO ONLY ATTACK THE IRANIAN ONES.
- 12 NOW, THIS IS NOT FEASIBLE HERE, WITH
- 13 VOTING SYSTEMS, FOR SEVERAL REASONS. FIRST OF ALL, WE
- 14 DID NOT JUST GO BUY THESE SYSTEMS YESTERDAY, AND SO THIS
- 15 -- IF SUCH A WORM EXISTS IN VOTING SYSTEMS IT IS THERE
- 16 NOW. AND IT WOULD BE DISCOVERED DURING THE INDEPENDENT
- 17 TESTING AUTHORITY TESTING. AND IF IT HAD BEEN
- 18 INTRODUCED AFTER THAT, THEN THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE A NEW
- VERSION OF THE SOFTWARE ACTUALLY PHYSICALLY DELIVERED TO
- 20 EACH MACHINE. SO IT'S THE SAME THING AS HAVING TO GO
- 21 AND MODIFY 4200 MACHINES IN A PARTICULAR COUNTY. THERE
- 22 IS NO PRACTICAL WAY IN WHICH IT COULD CAN BE DONE,
- 23 ALTHOUGH YES, IT'S TRUE, THE IRANIAN CENTRIFUGES WERE
- 24 NOT CONNECTED TO THE INTERNET.
- 25 Q. AND IN REVIEWING THE PLAINTIFFS' MATERIALS, WAS

- 1 THERE SOME ARTICLE IN THERE ABOUT UKRAINE AND THEIR
- 2 ELECTION?
- 3 A. YES, THERE WAS.
- 4 Q. DOES THAT HAVE ANY IMPACT IN YOUR CONCLUSIONS
- 5 THAT THE VOTING MACHINES HERE IN THE COMMONWEALTH ARE
- 6 NOT SUSCEPTIBLE TO HACKING -- AN ALTERATION?
- 7 A. YEAH, I READ THAT ARTICLE. AND BASICALLY WHAT
- 8 IT SAID WAS THAT THERE WERE SUSPICIONS THAT THE RUSSIANS
- 9 ATTACKED WHAT'S REFERRED TO IN THE UKRAINE AS THE
- 10 CENTRAL ELECTION COMMISSION. SO THE CENTRAL ELECTION
- 11 COMMISSION IS A PLACE FROM WHICH INFORMATION ABOUT THE
- 12 ELECTION IS DISTRIBUTED ALL THROUGH THE COUNTRY. WE
- 13 DON'T HAVE ANYTHING LIKE THAT. SO THERE IS NO CENTRAL
- 14 PLACE THAT ONE COULD GO AND ATTACK IN SUCH A MANNER.
- 15 IT'S SIMILAR TO THE RUSSIAN DNC HACK SCENARIO.
- 16 Q. SO JUST TO SUMMARIZE, I HAVE ONE MORE EXHIBIT TO
- 17 SHOW YOU. IS IT YOUR OPINION THAT THESE SCENARIOS
- 18 POSITED BY PLAINTIFF ARE NOT POSSIBLE AS A WAY OF
- 19 INFECTING AND AFFECTING THE VOTES HERE IN THE
- 20 **COMMONWEALTH?**
- 21 A. WELL, IT'S TOUGH TO SAY THAT SOMETHING IS
- 22 **IMPOSSIBLE**.
- 23 Q. I DID NOT SAY IMPOSSIBLE. I SAID IS IT
- 24 **POSSIBLE?**
- 25 A. I THINK THAT IS THE OPPOSITE OF IMPOSSIBLE. BUT

- 1 I THINK THE IDEA IS THAT -- MY FEELING IS THAT THE
- 2 SCENARIOS THAT HAVE BEEN POSITED ARE APPROXIMATELY AS
- 3 LIKELY AS THE FACT THAT ANDROIDS FROM OUTER SPACE ARE
- 4 LIVING AMONGST US AND PASSING AS HUMANS. IT MIGHT BE
- 5 POSSIBLE, YET THERE IS NOT ANY EVIDENCE THAT IT IS
- 6 HAPPENING.
- 7 Q. AND YOU SAID IT WAS YOUR FEELING. IS THAT ALSO
- 8 YOUR EXPERT OPINION?
- 9 A. YES.
- 10 MR. JOEL: MAY I APPROACH ONE MORE TIME,
- 11 YOUR HONOR?
- 12 THE COURT: YES.
- 13 BY MR. JOEL:
- 14 O. SHOWING YOU WHAT HAS BEEN MARKED AS D 6. CAN
- 15 YOU IDENTIFY FOR US WHAT THOSE ARE AND THE SIGNIFICANCE
- 16 **OF THEM?**
- 17 A. YES. SO THESE ARE THE REPORTS THAT THE
- 18 SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH IS REQUIRED TO FILE UPON
- 19 CERTIFYING A VOTING SYSTEM, AND THERE ARE SIX OR SEVEN
- 20 OF THESE. ALL OF THE VOTING SYSTEMS IN PENNSYLVANIA,
- 21 USED IN PENNSYLVANIA WERE SUBJECTED TO RECERTIFICATION
- 22 IN 2012, I THINK AS A RESULT OF THE BANFIELD CASE, NOT
- 23 BECAUSE IT WAS ORDERED BUT BECAUSE THE SECRETARY OF THE
- 24 COMMONWEALTH THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD BE PRUDENT TO DO
- 25 THAT. SO THESE ARE THE SECRETARY'S REPORTS FROM ALL OF

- 1 THOSE EXAMINATIONS.
- 2 Q. AND THOSE ARE FOR THE MACHINES, THE DRE'S THAT
- 3 ARE -- WERE IN USE IN THIS LAST ELECTION?
- 4 A. YES.
- 5 O. ALL OF THEM WERE CERTIFIED AS BEING APPROPRIATE
- 6 TO USE FOR THE ELECTION?
- 7 A. YES. IN FACT, VIRTUALLY ALL OF THESE BEGIN WITH
- 8 A PARAGRAPH THAT TALKS ABOUT THE EXAMINATION THAT I DID
- 9 OF THOSE SYSTEMS SOME YEARS EARLIER, AND THEN DISCUSSION
- 10 ABOUT WHAT WAS DONE SUBSEQUENTLY DURING THE
- 11 RE-EXAMINATION EXAMS.
- 12 MR. JOEL: I WOULD MOVE FOR THE ADMISSION
- 13 OF D 6, AND WITH THAT I HAVE NO MORE QUESTIONS FOR YOU.
- 14 THE COURT: ANY OBJECTION?
- 15 MS. FRICK: NO OBJECTION, YOUR HONOR.
- MR. TABAS: NONE, YOUR HONOR.
- 17 THE COURT: VERY WELL. IT WILL BE
- 18 ADMITTED.
- 19 (DEFENSE EXHIBIT D 6, ADMITTED INTO
- 20 EVIDENCE.)
- 21 THE COURT: DO YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS FOR
- 22 THIS WITNESS, MR. TABAS?
- 23 MR. TABAS: NO, I DON'T, YOUR HONOR.
- 24 THE COURT: MS. FRICK.
- MS. FRICK: THANK YOU.

- 1 THE COURT: THIS COUNTS AGAINST THEIR
- 2 **TIME**.
- 3 MS. FRICK: I'M WELL AWARE.
- 4 THE COURT: SO SPEAK SLOWLY.
- 5 CROSS EXAMINATION
- 6 BY MS. FRICK:
- 7 Q. GOOD AFTERNOON, DR. SHAMOS.
- 8 A. GOOD AFTERNOON.
- 9 Q. AM I PRONOUNCING YOUR NAME CORRECTLY?
- 10 A. YES, YOU ARE.
- 11 Q. MR. SHAMOS, YOU SAID THAT YOU HAVE TESTIFIED IN
- 12 A NUMBER OF CASES BEFORE, IS THAT RIGHT?
- 13 A. YES.
- 14 Q. AND IN SOME OF THOSE CASES YOU'VE TESTIFIED AS
- 15 AN EXPERT FOR SEQUOIA, IS THAT RIGHT?
- 16 A. IN PATENT CASES, YES.
- 17 Q. AND SEQUOIA IS A MANUFACTURER OF VOTING
- 18 MACHINES?
- 19 A. YES.
- 20 Q. THEY MANUFACTURE MACHINES THAT ARE USED IN
- 21 PENNSYLVANIA, IS THAT RIGHT?
- 22 A. YES.
- 23 Q. AND YOU HAVE BEEN PAID BY SEQUOIA FOR THAT
- 24 TESTIMONY, RIGHT?
- 25 A. YES, I HAVE.

- 1 Q. YOU HAVE BEEN PAID HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF
- DOLLARS, RIGHT?
- 3 A. ULTIMATELY, YES.
- 4 Q. AND YOU EXPECT TO BE PAID HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS
- 5 OF DOLLARS IN THE FUTURE FOR YOUR WORK WITH SEQUOIA,
- 6 RIGHT?
- 7 A. IF I DO ANY. THERE AREN'T ANY -- I HAVE NO
- 8 CURRENT CASES INVOLVING SEQUOIA.
- 9 Q. WERE YOU -- HAD YOU WORKED AS AN EXPERT FOR
- 10 SEQUOIA IN 2006?
- 11 A. NO.
- 12 O. WHEN WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT YOU WORKED AS AN
- 13 EXPERT FOR SEQUOIA?
- 14 A. I THINK I CAN HELP YOU WITH THIS LINE OF
- 15 QUESTIONING BY TELLING YOU THAT SINCE ACCEPTING ANY
- 16 MONEY FROM ANY ELECTION SYSTEM VENDOR, I HAVE NOT
- 17 PERFORMED ANY VOTING SYSTEM EXAMINATIONS EITHER FOR THAT
- 18 VENDOR OR FOR A DIFFERENT VENDOR.
- 19 Q. SO WERE YOU A PAID EXPERT FOR SEQUOIA IN 2006?
- 20 A. NO. THAT IS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE ANSWER I JUST
- 21 **GAVE**.
- 22 Q. WHEN WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT YOU WERE A PAID
- 23 EXPERT FOR SEQUOIA?
- 24 A. I DON'T RECALL, BUT IT WAS AFTER 2006.
- 25 Q. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN DENIED TENURE AS A COMPUTER

- 1 SCIENCE PROFESSOR?
- 2 A. NO.
- 3 Q. AT CARNEGIE MELLON?
- 4 A. NO.
- 5 THE COURT: I'M SORRY. IF YOU HAD
- 6 QUESTIONS ABOUT HIS EXPERTISE, YOU SHOULD HAVE ASKED
- 7 THEM BEFORE I QUALIFIED HIM. I WOULD ASK YOU TO MOVE ON
- 8 TO THE SUBSTANCE OF HIS TESTIMONY.
- 9 MS. FRICK: YES, I AM MOVING ON, YOUR
- 10 HONOR.
- 11 BY MS. FRICK:
- 12 Q. IN 2004, YOU TESTIFIED BEFORE CONGRESS, IS THAT
- 13 RIGHT?
- 14 A. YES.
- 15 O. AND YOU SAID THERE: I'M HERE TODAY TO OFFER MY
- OPINION THAT THE SYSTEM WE HAVE FOR TESTING AND
- 17 CERTIFYING VOTING EQUIPMENT IN THIS COUNTRY IS NOT ONLY
- 18 BROKEN, BUT IT IS VIRTUALLY NONEXISTENT. IS THAT RIGHT?
- 19 A. THAT'S RIGHT.
- 20 Q. AND IN 2006 YOU TESTIFIED AGAIN BEFORE CONGRESS,
- 21 RIGHT?
- 22 A. YES.
- 23 Q. YOU REPEATED THAT OPINION. YOU SAID THAT YOU
- 24 REAFFIRM IT. IS THAT RIGHT?
- A. THAT'S RIGHT.

- 1 Q. NOW, DO YOU REMEMBER GIVING AN INTERVIEW TO THE
- 2 HILL, IT'S A PUBLICATION, IN 2014?
- A. I DON'T RECALL IT, BUT I DON'T DENY THAT I DID
- 4 IT.
- 5 O. YOU WERE ASKED ABOUT POTENTIAL HACKING OF VOTING
- 6 MACHINES. AND YOU SAID -- ISN'T IT TRUE THAT YOU TOLD
- 7 THE HILL THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO STEAL A COUPLE
- 8 HUNDRED VOTES FOR YOUR GUY. IS THAT RIGHT?
- 9 A. YES. YES. THERE ARE MANY WAYS OF DOING THAT,
- 10 WHETHER THE ELECTION IS AN ELECTRONIC ONE OR A PAPER
- 11 **ONE**.
- 12 O. AND ARE YOU AWARE THAT THIS MORNING PRESIDENT
- 13 OBAMA ORDERED A REVIEW OF ALL EVIDENCE OF HACKING INTO
- 14 THIS ELECTION?
- 15 A. YES, I AM.
- 16 Q. AND WOULD YOU SAY THAT HE HAD THE SAME FACTUAL
- 17 BASIS FOR ORDERING THAT REVIEW AS HE WOULD HAVE HAD HE
- 18 ORDERED A REVIEW OF WHETHER ALIENS ARE LIVING AMONG US?
- 19 A. IF THERE WERE EVIDENCE THAT ALIENS WERE LIVING
- 20 AMONG US, I WOULD THINK IT INCUMBENT UPON THE PRESIDENT
- 21 TO HAVE THAT INVESTIGATED.
- 22 Q. I TAKE IT BY THAT ANSWER YOU AGREE THAT THERE IS
- 23 EVIDENCE OF HACKING IN THIS ELECTION?
- 24 A. THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT ATTEMPTS HAVE BEEN MADE
- TO ACCESS VOTING CENTRALIZED COMPUTERS IN THE UNITED

- 1 STATES.
- 2 Q. YOU AGREE THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THERE HAS BEEN
- 3 HACKING IN THIS ELECTION?
- 4 A. NO. I DON'T AGREE WITH THAT. I AGREE THERE IS
- 5 EVIDENCE THAT ATTEMPTS HAVE BEEN MADE. IN FACT, THERE
- 6 IS NO EVIDENCE THAT ANYTHING WAS HACKED.
- 7 Q. NOW, THE DRE MACHINES THAT ARE USED IN
- 8 PENNSYLVANIA USE REMOVABLE MEDIA, IS THAT RIGHT?
- 9 A. AMONG NONREMOVABLE MEDIA ALSO, THEY DO HAVE
- 10 REMOVABLE MEDIA, THAT IS TRUE.
- 11 Q. THAT REMOVABLE MEDIA INCLUDES THINGS LIKE MEMORY
- 12 CARTRIDGES, RIGHT?
- 13 A. YES.
- 14 Q. THE CARTRIDGES HAVE THE BALLOT INFORMATION ON
- 15 **THEM?**
- 16 A. WELL, SO SOME DO, SOME DON'T. THE PEB'S THAT WE
- WERE TALKING DO HAVE BALLOT INFORMATION ON THEM, YES.
- 18 Q. BUT FOR THE OTHER MACHINES THAT DON'T USE PEB'S,
- 19 THERE ARE MEMORY CARTRIDGES THAT HAVE THE BALLOT
- 20 INFORMATION ON THEM, RIGHT?
- 21 A. THERE ARE MEMORY CARTRIDGES. THE QUESTION IS
- 22 WHETHER THOSE ARE INSERTED FOR INDIVIDUAL VOTERS OR
- 23 WHETHER THEY ARE INSERTED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE
- 24 ELECTION. BUT THERE CERTAINLY ARE MEMORY CARTRIDGES
- 25 THAT HAVE BALLOT INFORMATION, YES.

- 1 Q. THAT BALLOT INFORMATION, WHETHER IT IS FROM
- 2 MEMORY CARTRIDGES OR FOR PEB'S, AS YOU TESTIFIED, IS
- 3 PROGRAMMED AT A CENTRAL ELECTION MANAGEMENT COMPUTER,
- 4 RIGHT?
- 5 A. YES, BUT THAT BALLOT INFORMATION IS DATA. IT'S
- 6 NOT CODE.
- 7 Q. I UNDERSTAND. MY QUESTION IS, AND THAT -- WHERE
- 8 IT IS PROGRAMMED CAN BE THE COUNTY'S CENTRAL ELECTION
- 9 MANAGEMENT COMPUTER, RIGHT?
- 10 A. IT USUALLY IS.
- 11 Q. AND AFTER THE ELECTION, THE PEB'S AND THE --
- AND/OR THE MEMORY CARTRIDGES, DEPENDING ON THE TYPE OF
- 13 MACHINE, CARRY THE VOTE TALLIES BACK TO THE CENTRAL
- 14 COMPUTER MACHINE.
- 15 A. FOR UNOFFICIAL PURPOSES ONLY.
- 16 Q. THOSE CARTRIDGES CAN SPREAD A VIRUS, CAN'T THEY?
- 17 A. NO.
- 18 Q. WELL, YOU KNOW WHAT A FLASH DRIVE IS, RIGHT?
- 19 A. YES.
- 20 Q. YOU KNOW THAT IF YOU PUT A FLASH DRIVE INTO A
- 21 COMPUTER WITH A VIRUS, THAT VIRUS CAN INFECT THE FLASH
- 22 DRIVE, RIGHT?
- 23 A. IT CERTAINLY DEPENDS ON THE OPERATING SYSTEM,
- 24 THE ARCHITECTURE AND THE CONFIGURATION OF THE MACHINE.
- 25 IT CAN'T HAPPEN WITH PEB'S.

- 1 Q. MY QUESTION IS, ON FLASH DRIVES, WHETHER WHEN
- 2 YOU PUT A FLASH DRIVE INTO A MACHINE, IT CAN INFECT THE
- 3 FLASH DRIVE?
- 4 A. IN A HYPOTHETICAL CONTEXT OUTSIDE OF
- 5 PENNSYLVANIA'S VOTING SYSTEMS, YES, IT CAN.
- 6 O. WHEN YOU THEN TAKE THAT FLASH DRIVE TO A NEW
- 7 COMPUTER, YOU CAN INFECT THAT NEW COMPUTER WITH THE
- 8 VIRUS FROM THE FIRST COMPUTER. RIGHT?
- 9 A. AGAIN IN A CONTEXT TOTALLY OUTSIDE OF
- 10 PENNSYLVANIA'S VOTING SYSTEMS, YES, THAT IS POSSIBLE.
- 11 Q. AND SO LET ME GO BACK TO YOUR EXPERTISE HERE.
- 12 YOU ARE NOT AN EXPERT IN COMPUTER SCIENCE, IS THAT
- 13 RIGHT?
- 14 A. WELL, I WAS NOT QUALIFIED HERE TODAY AS ONE, BUT
- 15 I CERTAINLY AM ONE.
- 16 Q. FOR PURPOSES OF TODAY'S HEARING YOU ARE NOT ONE,
- 17 AS WE HAVE AGREED?
- 18 A. MAYBE YOU SHOULD NOT ASK ME QUESTIONS ABOUT IT
- 19 **THEN**.
- 20 THE COURT: ALL RIGHT. ALL RIGHT. ALL
- 21 RIGHT. ASK ANOTHER QUESTION, PLEASE.
- 22 MS. FRICK: I'M GETTING TO MY QUESTION,
- 23 YOUR HONOR.
- 24 BY MS. FRICK:
- Q. THE QUESTION IS WHETHER IT'S POSSIBLE FOR MEMORY

- 1 CARTRIDGES, JUST LIKE OTHER REMOVABLE MEDIA, TO SPREAD A
- VIRUS FROM A MACHINE TO MACHINE.
- 3 A. AND I ANSWERED YES, TOTALLY OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT
- 4 OF PENNSYLVANIA'S VOTING SYSTEMS.
- 5 THE COURT: I HAVE REVIEWED THE DOCTOR'S
- 6 CV AND I'M PERFECTLY PREPARED TO QUALIFY HIM AS AN
- 7 EXPERT IN COMPUTER SCIENCE, AND I DO SO. YOU CAN ASK
- 8 HIM ANYTHING YOU WANT, MS. FRICK.
- 9 BY MS. FRICK:
- 10 Q. OKAY.
- 11 NOW SPREADING A VIRUS IN THE METHOD THAT
- 12 WE JUST TALKED ABOUT THAT YOU AGREED WAS POSSIBLE DOES
- 13 NOT REQUIRE AN INTERNET CONNECTION, RIGHT?
- 14 A. TOTALLY OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT OF PENNSYLVANIA'S
- VOTING SYSTEMS, YES, IT DOESN'T.
- 16 Q. THANK YOU. I WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU JUST
- ANSWER MY QUESTIONS.
- 18 THAT IS WHY WE WENT -- THAT IS WHAT WE
- 19 HAVE ALREADY ESTABLISHED THROUGH THE STUXNET VIRUS,
- 20 RIGHT? THERE WAS NO INTERNET CONNECTION WITH THE
- 21 CENTRIFUGES, CORRECT?
- 22 A. YES, I TESTIFIED TO THAT.
- 23 Q. EXACTLY.
- 24 NOW THE SOFTWARE ON THE ELECTRONIC VOTING
- 25 MACHINES GETS UPDATED FROM TIME TO TIME. I BELIEVE YOU

- 1 TESTIFIED TO THAT?
- 2 A. THAT IS TRUE.
- 3 O. AND THAT UPDATE COMES FROM THE MANUFACTURER?
- 4 A. WELL, ULTIMATELY IT DOES COME FROM THE
- 5 MANUFACTURER, ALTHOUGH IT IS TESTED BY THE INDEPENDENT
- 6 TESTING AUTHORITY, AND IN GENERAL, THE DISTRIBUTION OF
- 7 THE SOFTWARE COMES FROM THEM. OTHERWISE IT WOULD BE
- 8 POSSIBLE TO DO A BAIT AND SWITCH. THE VENDOR COULD SEND
- 9 GOOD SOFTWARE TO THE INDEPENDENT TESTING AUTHORITY.
- 10 UPON GETTING A CERTIFICATION FROM THEM, IT COULD THEN
- 11 SEND BAD SOFTWARE TO THE JURISDICTIONS. SO TO PREVENT
- 12 THAT, IT'S THE ITA THAT DISTRIBUTES THE SOFTWARE.
- 13 Q. THE ITA, YOU SAID, RUNS TESTS ON THESE UPDATES,
- 14 RIGHT?
- 15 A. YES.
- 16 Q. AND DOES IT DO A FORENSIC EXAMINATION OF THE
- 17 **CODE?**
- 18 A. YES.
- 19 Q. AND THEN THAT -- AND THEN HAVE YOU EVER BEEN
- 20 PRESENT FOR WHEN THOSE UPDATES ARE DISTRIBUTED?
- 21 A. I'M TRYING TO RECALL. I DON'T THINK SO. I
- 22 MEAN, IF YOU MEAN DISTRIBUTED FOR ACTUAL USE IN A
- 23 COUNTY, NO. I HAVE DONE IT AT THE SECRETARY OF THE
- 24 COMMONWEALTH'S OFFICE DURING OUR EXAMINATIONS, BUT NOT
- 25 IN AN ACTUAL PRECINCT, NO.

- 1 Q. HAVE YOU BEEN PRESENT FOR THE TESTING OF THOSE
- 2 SOFTWARE UPDATES?
- 3 A. YES.
- 4 Q. AND CAN YOU DESCRIBE WHAT THAT TESTING IS?
- 5 A. YES. I'M NOT -- I DON'T DO IT COMMONLY, BUT WE
- 6 DID A COMPLETE FORENSIC REVIEW IN SARASOTA COUNTY,
- 7 FLORIDA IN WHICH SIX COMPUTER SCIENTISTS SAT IN A ROOM
- 8 FOR FIVE DAYS EXAMINING CODE, COMPILING PORTIONS OF
- 9 CODE, TESTING CODE, COMPUTING HASH FUNCTIONS, ET CETERA.
- 10 Q. THAT WAS IN SARASOTA, FLORIDA, IS THAT RIGHT?
- 11 A. YES.
- 12 Q. NOW THE OPERATING SYSTEMS ON THE CENTRAL
- 13 ELECTION MANAGEMENT COMPUTERS, THEY NEED TO GET UPDATED
- 14 FROM TIME TO TIME AS WELL, RIGHT?
- 15 A. YES.
- 16 Q. AND THOSE UPDATES TO THE OPERATING SYSTEMS ARE
- 17 DOWNLOADED FROM THE INTERNET?
- 18 A. I THINK THEY ARE OFTEN ARE. THAT CAN'T BE DONE
- ON THE CENTRAL COMPUTER THAT IS USED IN THE COUNTY
- 20 BECAUSE IT'S NOT ALLOWED TO BE CONNECTED TO THE
- 21 INTERNET. SO IT HAS TO BE THROUGH REMOVABLE MEDIA.
- 22 Q. SO IT WOULD BE DOWNLOADED FROM THE INTERNET ON
- 23 TO SOME OTHER COMPUTER, IS THAT RIGHT?
- 24 A. NOT NECESSARILY. A DVD MIGHT BE OBTAINED FROM
- 25 THE DISTRIBUTOR OF THE OPERATING SYSTEM.

- 1 Q. BUT YOU ALSO SAID IT COULD BE DOWNLOADED FROM
- 2 THE INTERNET AND TRANSFERRED BY REMOVABLE MEDIA,
- 3 CORRECT?
- 4 A. NO. WHAT I SAID WAS, OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT OF THE
- 5 PENNSYLVANIA SYSTEMS. IF YOU MEAN CAN YOU HAVE A NEW
- 6 VERSION OF AN OPERATING SYSTEM DOWNLOADED OVER THE
- 7 INTERNET? YES. BUT THAT IS NOT PERMITTED IN
- 8 PENNSYLVANIA. IT'S EXPRESSLY AGAINST THE -- I CAN READ
- 9 YOU THE STATEMENTS IN THE CERTIFICATION -- CERTIFICATION
- 10 DOCUMENTS. IT'S FORBIDDEN BY THE SECRETARY OF THE
- 11 COMMONWEALTH.
- 12 O. SO THE UPDATES TO THE OPERATING SYSTEMS ON THE
- 13 CENTRAL MANAGEMENT COMPUTERS COME ONLY FROM THE
- 14 MANUFACTURER. IS THAT YOUR TESTIMONY?
- 15 A. NO. THERE ARE DIFFERENT MANUFACTURERS. THERE
- 16 IS A MANUFACTURER OF THE OPERATING SYSTEM AND THERE IS A
- 17 MANUFACTURER OF THE ELECTION MANAGEMENT SYSTEM. I
- 18 THOUGHT YOU WERE REFERRING TO THE OPERATING SYSTEM, LIKE
- 19 FOR EXAMPLE, WINDOWS 10, SOMETHING LIKE THAT. THAT
- 20 COMES FROM MICROSOFT.
- 21 Q. RIGHT. AND THAT UPDATE IS DOWNLOADED FROM THE
- 22 INTERNET, RIGHT? THAT IS WHAT YOU TESTIFIED?
- 23 A. NO. IT CAN BE. THAT IS WHAT -- I DO IT AT HOME
- 24 THAT WAY. BUT THAT IS NOT THE WAY PEOPLE WHO RUN THE
- 25 CENTRAL COMPUTERS IN COUNTIES IN PENNSYLVANIA DO IT

- 1 BECAUSE --
- 2 THE COURT: WE HAVE GONE THROUGH THIS --
- 3 THE WITNESS: -- THEY ARE FORBIDDEN TO DO
- 4 IT.
- 5 THE COURT: WE HAVE GONE THROUGH THIS
- 6 SEVERAL TIMES. PLEASE MOVE ON.
- 7 MS. FRICK: YOUR HONOR, I DON'T BELIEVE I
- 8 HAVE AN ACTUAL ANSWER FOR HOW THE --
- 9 THE COURT: I BELIEVE YOU HAVE YOUR
- 10 ANSWER. I'M DIRECTING YOU TO MOVE ON.
- 11 BY MS. FRICK:
- 12 O. NOW, HAVE YOU PERSONALLY PARTICIPATED IN THE
- 13 UPDATE OF OPERATING SYSTEMS ON THE CENTRAL MANAGEMENT
- 14 COMPUTERS?
- 15 A. I DON'T RECALL HAVING DONE SO.
- 16 Q. WHAT ABOUT THE UPDATES TO THE ELECTION
- 17 MANAGEMENT SOFTWARE ITSELF?
- 18 A. I HAVE SEEN IT DONE. AGAIN, WE DID IT IN THE
- 19 SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH'S OFFICE. I DIDN'T DO IT
- 20 AT A COUNTY ELECTION BOARD.
- 21 Q. AND WHEN THE OPERATING -- I'M SORRY, NOT THE
- 22 OPERATING SYSTEMS. WHEN THE ELECTION MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS
- 23 ARE UPDATED, THOSE COME FROM -- THOSE UPDATES COME FROM
- 24 THE MANUFACTURER. IS THAT WHAT YOU TESTIFIED?
- 25 A. NO, THEY COME FROM THE ITA.

- 1 Q. WHICH GETS THEM FROM THE MANUFACTURER, RIGHT?
- 2 A. WELL --
- 3 THE COURT: YOU REALLY ARE REPEATING
- 4 OURSELVES.
- 5 MS. FRICK: I'M SORRY, YOUR HONOR. I
- 6 BELIEVE MY FIRST LINE OF QUESTIONS WAS ABOUT THE
- 7 OPERATING SYSTEM. AND I'M TRYING TO UNDERSTAND THE
- 8 CENTRAL MANAGEMENT --
- 9 THE COURT: I BELIEVE WE ARE REPEATING
- 10 **OURSELVES**.
- 11 MS. FRICK: I'LL MOVE ON, YOUR HONOR.
- 12 THE COURT: IF YOU DON'T STOP, I'M GOING
- 13 TO END YOUR CROSS EXAMINATION.
- 14 MS. FRICK: I WILL MOVE ON, YOUR HONOR.
- 15 BY MS. FRICK:
- 16 O. NOW, I BELIEVE YOU TESTIFIED, OR IT'S IN THE
- 17 PAPERS THAT WERE SUBMITTED ALONG WITH YOUR TESTIMONY,
- 18 THAT YOU ANALYZED THE FIRMWARE IN THE PENNSYLVANIA
- MACHINES IN 2006, IS THAT RIGHT?
- 20 A. I DON'T THINK IT SAYS THAT IN THE MOVING PAPERS.
- 21 I DID AN EXAMINATION OF THE VOTING SYSTEMS THAT WERE
- 22 THEN CURRENTLY UNDER CERTIFICATION IN PENNSYLVANIA IN
- 23 2006. I DIDN'T DO PERSONALLY A FORENSIC EXAMINATION OF
- THE FIRMWARE.
- 25 Q. HAVE YOU EVER DONE A PERSONAL FORENSIC

- 1 EXAMINATION OF THE FIRMWARE?
- 2 A. YES, IN SARASOTA COUNTY.
- 3 Q. BUT FOR VOTING SYSTEMS USED IN PENNSYLVANIA, YOU
- 4 HAVE NEVER DONE THAT?
- 5 A. NO, I HAVEN'T. I RELIED ON THE ITA REPORTS.
- 6 O. AND SINCE 2006 HAVE YOU EVER EXAMINED THE VOTING
- 7 SYSTEMS USED IN PENNSYLVANIA?
- 8 A. I DON'T RECALL WHETHER I DID ANY IN 2007, BUT I
- 9 HAVEN'T -- I CERTAINLY HAVE NOT DONE ANY SINCE 2007.
- 10 Q. SO WOULD YOU AGREE THAT IN GENERAL, TECHNOLOGY
- 11 HAS CHANGED SINCE 2007?
- 12 A. THAT IS A REALLY GENERAL STATEMENT. WHAT KIND
- 13 OF TECHNOLOGY ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT?
- 14 Q. WELL, WOULD YOU AGREE WITH THE GENERAL STATEMENT
- 15 THAT TECHNOLOGY HAS CHANGED?
- 16 THE COURT: I WILL ACCEPT THAT TECHNOLOGY
- 17 HAS CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE LAST TEN YEARS.
- 18 BY MS. FRICK:
- 19 Q. SO WE CAN AGREE THAT IT HAS CHANGED
- 20 SIGNIFICANTLY. WOULD YOU AGREE THAT CYBER SECURITY
- 21 THREATS HAVE CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY SINCE 2007.
- 22 A. YES, I THINK PEOPLE HAVE DEVISED CLEVERER
- 23 MECHANISMS FOR INFECTING COMPUTERS.
- 24 Q. YOU WOULD AGREE THAT BEFORE THIS YEAR THERE HAD
- NEVER BEEN WIDESPREAD REPORTS OF CYBER ATTACKS OR

- 1 HACKING DURING A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION BEFORE?
- 2 A. I'M NOT AWARE OF SUCH REPORTS PREVIOUSLY, NO.
- 3 Q. NOW, YOU TESTIFIED AT THE BEGINNING OF YOUR
- 4 TESTIMONY THAT IF YOU TOOK A MACHINE INTO A LAB UNDER
- 5 PERFECT CONDITIONS, YOU COULD ALWAYS BREAK INTO THESE
- 6 MACHINES, RIGHT?
- 7 A. YES.
- 8 O. HAVE YOU EVER PERSONALLY HACKED INTO THESE
- 9 MACHINES?
- 10 A. YES.
- 11 Q. WHEN DID YOU DO THAT?
- 12 A. OH, I WOULD TYPICALLY DO IT DURING LUNCHTIME
- 13 AT -- WHEN WE DID OUR EXAMINATIONS AND THE VENDOR WAS
- 14 NOT PRESENT SO THEY COULD NOT SEE WHAT I WAS DOING.
- 15 O. AND YOU COULD HACK THESE MACHINES DURING YOUR
- 16 LUNCH HOUR, RIGHT?
- 17 A. WELL, I WAS AN EXAMINER. I WAS ALLOWED TO OPEN
- 18 THE MACHINES. I COULD DO ANYTHING I WANTED TO THEM.
- 19 NOBODY WAS OBSERVING ME, BECAUSE I WAS TRYING TO TEST
- 20 WHETHER THEY WERE SECURE OR NOT.
- 21 Q. AND YOU TESTIFIED BEFORE THAT IT WOULD TAKE TOO
- 22 LONG FOR SOMEBODY ELSE WHO WAS NOT A SECURITY EXAMINER
- 23 TO HACK INTO THE MACHINES, RIGHT?
- 24 A. I DON'T THINK I MADE ANY COMMENT ABOUT WHETHER
- THE PERSON WAS AN EXAMINER OR NOT. WHAT I THINK I SAID

- 1 WAS THAT MACHINES IN ACTUAL USE ARE NOT SITTING ON A
- 2 TABLE THE WAY THEY ARE AT THE SECRETARY'S OFFICE WHEN WE
- DO AN EXAM. THEY ARE CLOSED UP, THEY ARE SEALED UP,
- 4 THEY ARE LOCKED. SO THE PROCESS OF GAINING ACCESS TO
- 5 SUCH A MACHINE AND INSERTING NEW SOFTWARE IN IT UNDER
- 6 THOSE CONDITIONS IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT. IT INVOLVES
- 7 THE BREAKING OF SEALS, DOING THINGS, YOU HAVE TO KNOW
- 8 WHAT YOU ARE DOING, AND THEN APPLYING A COUNTERFEIT SEAL
- 9 AT THE END SO NOBODY IS ANY THE WISER. IT TAKES TIME TO
- 10 DO THAT.
- 11 O. UNDERSTOOD. NOW THE MACHINES ARE STORED --
- 12 BETWEEN ELECTIONS ARE STORED IN SOME SECURE WAREHOUSE,
- 13 IS THAT RIGHT?
- 14 A. THEY ARE STORED IN A WAREHOUSE. I KNOW SOME OF
- 15 THE SECURITY MECHANISMS THAT ARE USED TO PROTECT THE
- 16 WAREHOUSE, BUT I DON'T KNOW ALL OF THEM.
- 17 Q. AT SOME POINT THE MACHINES ARE TAKEN TO THE
- 18 POLLING PLACES, RIGHT?
- 19 A. THAT'S RIGHT.
- 20 Q. THEY HAVE TO BE DELIVERED THERE?
- 21 A. YES.
- 22 O. AND THE LOCATION OF THE POLLING PLACES ARE
- 23 WIDELY PUBLICIZED, RIGHT?
- 24 A. NO. IN MANY CASES DECADES IN ADVANCE, YES.
- 25 Q. THAT'S RIGHT. AND THE VOTING MACHINES ARE NOT

- 1 DELIVERED TO EACH POLLING PLACE ON THE MORNING OF THE
- 2 ELECTION, ARE THEY?
- 3 A. NO, THAT IS OBVIOUSLY NOT FEASIBLE.
- 4 Q. SO THEY ARE DELIVERED A WEEK AHEAD OF TIME?
- 5 A. IT DEPENDS ON THE COUNTY. IT DEPENDS ON LOTS OF
- 6 THINGS.
- 7 O. THEY ARE DELIVERED AT LEAST A FEW DAYS AHEAD OF
- 8 TIME?
- 9 A. THAT'S RIGHT.
- 10 Q. THE POLLING PLACES ARE PLACES LIKE SCHOOLS,
- 11 CHURCHES, LIBRARIES, BUILDINGS LIKE THAT, RIGHT?
- 12 A. YES. IN CALIFORNIA THEY ARE PEOPLE'S PRIVATE
- 13 **HOMES EVEN.**
- 14 O. AND MOST OF THOSE PLACES DON'T HAVE 24-HOUR
- 15 SECURITY, DO THEY?
- 16 A. THAT'S CORRECT.
- 17 Q. AND THEY DON'T HAVE ARMED GUARDS STANDING OUT
- 18 FRONT, DO THEY?
- 19 A. **NO**.
- 20 THE COURT: YOU ARE MAKING ARGUMENT.
- 21 BY MS. FRICK:
- 22 Q. YOU HAVE HEARD OF CALIFORNIA'S TOP TO BOTTOM
- 23 REVIEW OF ELECTRONIC VOTING MACHINES, RIGHT?
- 24 A. YES.
- Q. AND THAT REVIEW WAS LED BY THE CALIFORNIA

- 1 SECRETARY OF STATE?
- 2 A. YES.
- 3 Q. AND IT WAS CONDUCTED BY -- IT WAS A REVIEW
- 4 CONDUCTED BY COMPUTER SCIENTISTS?
- 5 A. THERE WERE CERTAINLY COMPUTER SCIENTISTS ON THE
- 6 PANEL, YES.
- 7 Q. FOLLOWING THE REVIEW, CALIFORNIA DECERTIFIED
- 8 CERTAIN ELECTRONIC VOTING SYSTEMS, RIGHT?
- 9 A. YES. WE CAN TALK ABOUT THE POLITICS OF THAT IF
- 10 YOU WOULD LIKE, BUT THE ANSWER IS YES.
- 11 Q. NOW, THE STATE BANNED THE USE OF THOSE MACHINES
- 12 IN ELECTIONS BECAUSE THE STATE DETERMINED AFTER ITS
- 13 REVIEW THAT THESE MACHINES WERE TOO UNRELIABLE, RIGHT?
- 14 A. NO. BECAUSE THE SECRETARY OF STATE IS AN
- 15 ELECTED OFFICE IN CALIFORNIA, AND SHE RAN ON THE
- 16 PLATFORM THAT SHE WAS GOING TO GET RID OF THE CURRENT
- VOTING MACHINES. THAT IS WHY IT WAS DONE.
- 18 Q. THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S REPORT AUTHORED BY THE
- 19 COMPUTER SCIENTISTS FOUND THAT THESE MACHINES WERE
- 20 UNRELIABLE, RIGHT?
- 21 A. YES, BUT SHE WAS NOT OBLIGED TO ACCEPT THOSE.
- 22 Q. THANK YOU.
- 23 PENNSYLVANIA VOTERS USE MACHINES THAT
- 24 CALIFORNIA HAS BANNED, CORRECT?
- 25 A. **YES**.

- 1 Q. LEHIGH COUNTY, FOR EXAMPLE, USES A MACHINE
- 2 BANNED BY CALIFORNIA, RIGHT?
- 3 A. YES.
- 4 Q. AND WASHINGTON COUNTY DOES?
- 5 THE COURT: YOU ARE NOT GOING THROUGH ALL
- 6 67 COUNTIES.
- 7 MS. FRICK: I'M NOT, YOUR HONOR. I'M
- 8 JUST GIVING A COUPLE OF EXAMPLES.
- 9 THE WITNESS: I DON'T ACTUALLY KNOW WHICH
- 10 SYSTEM WASHINGTON COUNTY USES, BUT I CAN'T DISPUTE IT.
- 11 BY MS. FRICK:
- 12 O. IN FACT, ABOUT A MILLION PENNSYLVANIA VOTERS ARE
- 13 REGISTERED IN COUNTIES THAT RELY ON MACHINES THAT
- 14 CALIFORNIA HAS DECERTIFIED, RIGHT?
- 15 A. YES. WE DON'T LIVE IN CALIFORNIA.
- 16 THE COURT: YOU HAVE NOW USED UP ALL THE
- 17 COMMONWEALTH'S TIME. NO. NO. GO AHEAD.
- 18 BY MS. FRICK:
- 19 Q. YOU TESTIFIED THAT -- I BELIEVE YOU USED THE
- 20 WORD "TYPICALLY" THE CENTRAL COMPUTERS IN THE COUNTY
- 21 OFFICES ARE DEDICATED SOLELY TO THE PURPOSE OF
- 22 ELECTIONS, AND THEY ARE NOT CONNECTED TO THE INTERNET,
- 23 RIGHT?
- 24 A. RIGHT.
- Q. BUT THAT DOES NOT MEAN ALWAYS, RIGHT? TYPICALLY

- 1 DOES NOT MEAN ALWAYS?
- 2 A. THAT'S RIGHT. IT MEANS THAT THEY ARE SUPPOSED
- 3 TO NOT DO IT, BUT IT'S POSSIBLE THAT THEY MAY BREAK THE
- 4 RULES ESTABLISHED BY THE SECRETARY.
- 5 Q. NOW, YOU SAID THAT YOU AGREED WITH -- IN
- 6 TESTIMONY THAT PEB'S DISTRIBUTE NEW SOFTWARE, RIGHT?
- 7 A. UNDER THE CONDITIONS THAT I TESTIFIED ABOUT,
- 8 YES.
- 9 Q. AND SO THE PEB'S CAN OVERRIDE THE SOFTWARE ON
- 10 THE MACHINE, RIGHT?
- 11 A. UNDER THE CONDITIONS I DISCUSSED, YES.
- 12 O. YOU TALKED ABOUT PARALLEL TESTING. DO YOU
- 13 RECALL THAT TESTIMONY?
- 14 A. YES.
- 15 Q. DID PARALLEL TESTING TAKE PLACE IN ANY COUNTIES
- 16 THIS YEAR AFTER THE ELECTION?
- 17 A. I ONLY KNOW ABOUT PENNSYLVANIA. I DON'T KNOW
- 18 ABOUT OTHER STATES.
- 19 Q. MY QUESTION IS ABOUT PENNSYLVANIA.
- 20 A. YES. IT TOOK PLACE IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY.
- Q. WHAT OTHER COUNTIES?
- 22 A. I DON'T KNOW OF ANY OTHERS.
- 23 Q. IS IT REQUIRED TO TAKE PLACE STATE-WIDE?
- 24 A. NO.
- Q. WAS IT REQUIRED TO TAKE PLACE IN ALLEGHENY

- 1 COUNTY?
- 2 A. WELL, IT DEPENDS ON WHAT YOU MEAN BY REQUIRED.
- 3 Q. IS THERE A STATE LAW REQUIRING THAT IT TAKE
- 4 PLACE?
- 5 A. YOU MEAN SEPARATELY IN ALLEGHENY COUNTY FROM THE
- 6 OTHER COUNTIES IN THE STATE?
- 7 Q. CORRECT.
- 8 A. NO.
- 9 Q. SO THERE IS NO STATE LAW REQUIRING PARALLEL
- 10 TESTING TO TAKE PLACE?
- 11 A. THAT'S RIGHT.
- 12 O. SO ISN'T IT TRUE THAT NOBODY THIS YEAR HAS DONE
- 13 A POST-ELECTION INSPECTION OF THE DATA AND THE CODE ON
- 14 THE MACHINES USED IN THIS ELECTION?
- 15 A. I DON'T KNOW THAT.
- 16 Q. IN PENNSYLVANIA?
- 17 A. I DON'T KNOW THAT. I WOULD NOT KNOW THAT.
- 18 Q. YOU WOULD NOT KNOW THAT BECAUSE IT'S NOT
- 19 SOMETHING THAT YOU PARTICIPATED IN, RIGHT?
- 20 A. I HAVEN'T, NO.
- 21 Q. YOU HAVE NOT HEARD OF ANYONE ELSE PARTICIPATING
- 22 IN SUCH -- IN SUCH A REVIEW?
- 23 A. NO.
- 24 MS. FRICK: THANK YOU. THAT IS ALL I
- 25 **HAVE**.

- 1 THE COURT: I WILL GIVE YOU, MR. MAAZEL,
- 2 AN EXTRA FIVE MINUTES.
- 3 MR. JOEL: I HAVE NO REDIRECT, YOUR
- 4 HONOR. I WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT THE CROSS WAS
- 5 COUNTING AGAINST THEIR TIME.
- 6 THE COURT: NO, NO. BUT I WILL GIVE YOU
- 7 -- YOU ASKED FOR FIVE MINUTES FOR REBUTTAL.
- 8 MR. JOEL: I HAVE NO REDIRECT.
- 9 THE COURT: DID YOU HAVE ANY OTHER
- 10 WITNESSES YOU WANTED TO CALL?
- MR. JOEL: NO, NO.
- 12 THE COURT: VERY WELL. THANK YOU.
- 13 THE WITNESS: YOU ARE WELCOME, YOUR
- 14 HONOR.
- 15 THE COURT: BUT I WILL GIVE -- SO YOU ARE
- OUT OF TIME AND I WILL GIVE MR. MAAZEL 20 MINUTES
- 17 INSTEAD OF 15, BECAUSE I'M GOING TO GIVE HIM AN EXTRA
- 18 FIVE MINUTES.
- MR. TABAS.
- 20 THE WITNESS: YOUR HONOR, ARE THERE MORE
- 21 FACT WITNESSES, OR DO I HAVE TO GO OUTSIDE?
- 22 THE COURT: DO YOU INTEND TO RECALL THIS
- 23 WITNESS?
- 24 MR. JOEL: NO, I DON'T, YOUR HONOR.
- THE COURT: YOU DON'T HAVE TO GO OUTSIDE.

1 MR. TABAS: GOOD AFTERNOON, YOUR HONOR. THE COURT: GOOD AFTERNOON. 2 3 MR. TABAS: I'M HERE ON BEHALF OF THE 4 INTERVENORS WHICH INCLUDE THE PRESIDENT ELECT, THE VICE-PRESIDENT ELECT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE 5 ELECTORS THAT WERE PLEDGED TO THEM AS PART OF THE 6 ELECTION THAT WAS HELD ON NOVEMBER 8TH. 7 YOUR HONOR, I WILL, IN MY ARGUMENT, BE 8 REFERRING TO SOME CASES THAT WE DID NOT CITE IN OUR 9 BRIEF BECAUSE OF A DECISION THAT CAME DOWN YESTERDAY IN 10 THE MICHIGAN FEDERAL COURT RELATING TO A CASE BROUGHT 11 12 ALSO BY PLAINTIFF STEIN THAT IS RELEVANT TO TODAY. SO I 13 HAVE GIVEN COPIES OF THOSE CASES TO COUNSEL FOR MS. STEIN AND TO THE STATE. I HAVE A PACKAGE OF THEM FOR 14 THE COURT AS WELL, IF I CAN GIVE THEM TO THE COURT 15 16 REPORTER. THE COURT: ACTUALLY JUST GIVE THEM TO MY 17 DEPUTY, PLEASE. THANK YOU. 18 19 MR. TABAS: YOUR HONOR, JUST ALSO BEFORE 20 I GET INTO MY ARGUMENT, I HAVE A COUPLE OF HOUSEKEEPING 21 MATTERS IN RESPONSE TO THE ISSUES THAT WERE MENTIONED BY MR. MAAZEL DURING HIS PRESENTATION. HE REFERRED TO THE 22 23 SITUATION IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY AND MADE REFERENCE TO A FACT THAT THERE WERE 4,000 PLUS VOTERS WHO DID NOT VOTE 24 AT ALL. OF COURSE, HE HAD NO WITNESSES OR ANYTHING TO 25

- 1 ESTABLISH THAT. I DID NOT CHALLENGE IT AT THE TIME
- 2 BECAUSE I DIDN'T THINK IT WAS NECESSARY TO, BUT THE
- 3 REASON I DID NOT, YOUR HONOR, IS BECAUSE MR. MAAZEL HAS
- 4 NOT FURTHER PURSUED WHAT HE SHOULD HAVE AND INQUIRED AS
- 5 TO WHAT THAT TERM NO VOTES MEANS IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY
- 6 AND THE OTHER 66 COUNTIES IN PENNSYLVANIA. THAT IS
- 7 SIMPLY THE REFERENCE TO THE NUMBER OF UNDER VOTES THAT
- 8 WERE CAST ON A MACHINE. IT MAY SAY NO VOTES, BUT IF HE
- 9 HAD INQUIRED, HE WOULD HAVE FOUND OUT THAT IT'S UNDER
- 10 VOTES.
- 11 THE COURT: I'M SORRY. IT HAS BEEN A
- 12 LONG TIME SINCE 2000. WHAT IS AN UNDER VOTE?
- 13 MR. TABAS: AN UNDER VOTE IS LET'S SAY
- 14 YOU CAN VOTE FOR FIVE PEOPLE --
- 15 THE COURT: IF SOMEBODY DOES NOT CAST A
- 16 VOTE FOR EVERY OFFICE, EVERY OFFICE FOR WHICH A PERSON
- 17 MAY VOTE. SO IF THERE ARE FIVE ROW OFFICES, AND THE
- 18 PERSON VOTES FOR ONLY FOUR, THAT IS AN UNDER VOTE?
- 19 MR. TABAS: THAT WOULD BE AN UNDER VOTE,
- 20 THE SAME AS IF, LET'S SAY YOU DID NOT CAST A VOTE FOR
- 21 THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE AT ALL, THAT WOULD BE AN
- 22 UNDER VOTE. AND THEN THERE IS SUCH A THING AS AN OVER
- 23 VOTE BUT THAT IS WHEN YOU VOTE FOR TOO MANY PEOPLE. BUT
- 24 THAT IS A DIFFERENT ISSUE.
- THE COURT: OKAY.

1 MR. TABAS: IN ADDITION, MR. MAAZEL SAID 2 THAT THERE WERE SEVERAL, MAYBE AS MANY AS SIX RECOUNTS 3 STILL PENDING IN PENNSYLVANIA. FROM PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE, 4 BECAUSE THAT IS ALL I HAVE BEEN INVOLVED WITH SINCE NOVEMBER 8TH, THERE IS ONLY ONE THAT IS CURRENTLY 5 6 PENDING. 64 OF OUR COUNTIES HAVE CERTIFIED THE RESULTS, I HAVE CONFIRMED WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE YESTERDAY. ONE WILL CERTIFY TOMORROW AT 11:00 AM. THE REMAINING 8 9 TWO WILL CERTIFY ON MONDAY. THE COURT: I DON'T THINK WHAT THE TWO OF 10 YOU ARE SAYING IS AT ALL INCONSISTENT. WHY DON'T YOU GO 11 12 ON? 13 MR. TABAS: THANKS. THEN I WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS ONE OF THE 14 POINTS THAT MR. MAAZEL HAS MADE AS PART OF HIS ARGUMENT, 15 PART OF HIS SEVEN REASONS FOR WHY THIS COURT SHOULD 16 GRANT THE EXTRAORDINARY RELIEF REQUESTED. 17 AND HE TALKS ABOUT THE FACT THAT THE 18 19 RULES FOR RECOUNTS, ELECTION CONTESTS ARE CONFUSING, 20 THEY'RE UNKNOWN, THEY'RE ARBITRARY HE SAID TODAY. HE 21 REFERRED TO ACTUALLY INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH PROBLEMS WITH THE PROTHONOTARY, WHICH IS NOT ONLY DIFFICULT TO 22 23 PRONOUNCE, BUT SOMETIMES VERY DIFFICULT TO SPELL AS WELL. BUT MR. MAAZEL SHOULD BECOME FAMILIAR AND I WOULD 24

ASK THE COURT TO TAKE -- TO REVIEW THE DECISION OF IN

25

PHILADELPHIA DEMOCRATIC MAYORALTY PRIMARY ELECTION 1 RE: 2 CONTEST FROM BACK IN 1979. IT'S IN THE PACKAGE THAT I 3 PROVIDED TO THE COURT. INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, MR. HARVEY 4 WAS COUNSEL FOR ONE OF THE PARTIES IN THAT CASE AND ACTUALLY IN THE SAME ROLE THAT I AM TODAY, OPPOSING 5 EFFORTS IN AN ELECTION CONTEST MATTER. IN THAT DECISION 6 -- IT WAS A COMMON PLEAS COURT DECISION BUT IT CITED A VERY WELL-KNOWN, A VERY HIGHLY REGARDED STATE SUPREME 8 9 COURT DECISION, MADIGAN APPEAL DEALING WITH SUCH ISSUES AS RECOUNTS IN ELECTION CONTESTS. IN THAT CASE, IN THE 10 DEMOCRATIC MAYORAL CASE, THE PARTIES SEEKING TO 11 12 CHALLENGE THE ELECTION GOT MISINFORMATION FROM A 13 PROTHONOTARY AND MADE MISTAKES AND FILED INCORRECTLY THE CHALLENGES TO THE ELECTION CONTEST. 14 THE COURT SAID THAT COUNSEL FOR 15 PETITIONERS CANNOT BE PERMITTED TO RELY ON 16 MISINFORMATION FROM THE PROTHONOTARY'S OFFICE WHEN A 17 READING OF THE STATUTE WOULD HAVE SUPPLIED COUNSEL WITH 18 19 THE CORRECT INFORMATION. THE COURT WENT ON TO SAY THAT 20 WHERE THERE IS A STATUTE WHICH DOES SET FORTH IN CLEAR 21 AND CONCISE TERMS THE REQUIREMENTS FOR PROCEEDING, COUNSEL'S RELIANCE UPON MISINFORMATION FROM THE 22 23 PROTHONOTARY CANNOT JUSTIFY HER FAILURE TO PROPERLY FILE HER CHALLENGE. AND IF COUNSEL HAD DONE THE RESEARCH AND 24 HAD REVIEWED THE CASE LAW AND HAD ACTUALLY REVIEWED THE 25

- 1 VARIOUS STATUTORY PROVISIONS, THEY WOULD HAVE SEEN THAT
- 2 THERE WAS A VERY CLEAR PROCESS IN PENNSYLVANIA FOR DOING
- 3 RECOUNTS, RECANVASSES AND ELECTION CONTESTS. IT'S NOT
- 4 REALLY 67 SEPARATE ONES. THE PROVISIONS IN THE ELECTION
- 5 CODE APPLY TO ALL 67 OF THE COUNTIES.
- 6 SO NOW, YOUR HONOR, I GO INTO A FEW
- 7 BROADER POINTS. JILL STEIN, WHO IS ONE OF THE TWO
- 8 PLAINTIFFS HERE TODAY, WHO GARNERED LESS THAN 1 PERCENT
- 9 OF THE VOTES CAST OF ABOUT 6 MILLION IN PENNSYLVANIA, IS
- 10 SEEKING, AS THEY HAVE SAID TODAY, NOT ONLY A RECOUNT IN
- 11 MANY COUNTIES, BUT THEY ARE ALSO SEEKING THIS FORENSIC
- 12 EXAMINATION. TO BE HONEST, YOUR HONOR, WE BELIEVE THE
- 13 HEART OF THE PLAINTIFF'S MOTIVE IN REALLY BRINGING THIS
- 14 CASE, AND ALL THE POST-ELECTION CASES THAT THEY BROUGHT
- 15 THESE LAST FEW WEEKS, IS A COMMENT THEY MADE ON PAGE 2
- 16 OF THEIR MEMORANDUM OF LAW, QUOTE: A MAJORITY OF THE
- 17 MACHINES VOTED FOR DONALD TRUMP IN PENNSYLVANIA, END OF
- 18 QUOTE.
- 19 THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT IN THAT REALITY IS
- 20 WHAT IS DRIVING THEIR UNSUBSTANTIATED CLAIMS IN AN
- 21 EFFORT TO DELAY THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE WHICH MUST MEET ON
- DECEMBER 19TH OF THIS YEAR TO CAST ITS BALLOTS.
- 23 THE COURT: IF PENNSYLVANIA'S VOTE IS NOT
- 24 CERTIFIED BY DECEMBER 13TH, WHAT HAPPENS?
- 25 MR. TABAS: IF IT IS NOT, THERE IS A

- 1 GREAT RISK THAT THE MATTER WILL THEN FLOW EITHER TO THE
- 2 LEGISLATURE OF PENNSYLVANIA, WHO MAY HAVE TO SELECT
- 3 ELECTORS FOR THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA. BUT ALL OF THE
- 4 PEOPLE IN PENNSYLVANIA, THE MILLIONS OF VOTERS WHO DID
- 5 VOTE FOR THE 20 ELECTORS FOR THE PRESIDENT ELECT AND
- 6 VICE-PRESIDENT ELECT WILL HAVE BEEN COMPLETELY
- 7 DISENFRANCHISED BY THAT. THAT IS WHAT BUSH VERSUS GORE
- 8 RECOGNIZED. THAT IS WHERE AT LEAST FIVE OF THE JUSTICES
- 9 STATED THAT ALL STATE PROCEDURES DEALING WITH CHALLENGES
- 10 TO AN ELECTION FOR A STATE THAT HAS OPTED INTO THE
- 11 FEDERAL SAFE HARBOR UNDER 3 U.S.C. SECTION 5, AND
- 12 PENNSYLVANIA HAS OPTED IN, MUST CEASE. IN THAT YEAR, IT
- 13 WAS DECEMBER 12TH. THIS YEAR IT'S DECEMBER 13TH. IT
- 14 MUST CEASE. THAT IS BINDING PRECEDENT OF THE UNITED
- 15 STATES SUPREME COURT.
- 16 THE COURT: IF -- HOW LONG WOULD A
- 17 STATEWIDE RECOUNT TAKE, 67 COUNTIES TAKE?
- 18 MR. TABAS: WELL, HAVING BEEN INVOLVED IN
- ONE FOR THE CURRENT PRESIDENT JUDGE OF THE SUPERIOR
- 20 COURT, WHICH WE WON, IT TOOK -- IT WAS DECEMBER 30TH, I
- 21 BELIEVE. MR. HARVEY WAS ALSO IN THAT MATTER. HE RAN
- 22 INTO FEDERAL COURT ALSO ON I THINK IT WAS THE 29TH --
- 23 THE COURT: HE KEEPS TURNING UP LIKE A
- BAD PENNY.
- 25 MR. TABAS: HE WAS KEEPING ME BUSY RIGHT

- 1 THROUGH THE END OF THE YEAR.
- THE COURT: I UNDERSTAND.
- 3 YET THE PLAINTIFFS ARE SAYING WHAT THEY
- 4 REALLY WANT IS A MUCH NARROWER SLICE THAN THAT. IT
- 5 WOULD TAKE ONLY A DAY.
- 6 MR. TABAS: YOUR HONOR, I HAVE DONE THIS.
- 7 I HAVE NOT DONE IT AS LONG AS MR. HARVEY, WHO'S PROBABLY
- 8 HAS BEEN DOING ELECTION LAW SINCE THE DAYS OF WILLIAM
- 9 PENN PROBABLY, BUT I HAVE DONE THIS FOR QUITE SOME TIME.
- 10 AND I'LL TELL YOU SOMETHING. THERE IS ONE THING THAT IS
- 11 CERTAIN, IT WILL NOT TAKE A DAY. AND FOR THEM TO EVEN
- 12 COME IN NOW, THEY HAVE HAD SO MANY SHIFTING CLAIMS AND
- 13 ARGUMENTS. THEY CREATED THE DELAY THAT PUT US HERE
- 14 TODAY. THIS ELECTION ENDED ON THE 8TH.
- 15 THE COURT: I HAVE NOT ASKED PLAINTIFFS
- 16 ABOUT THAT. I INTEND TO. WHY THEY WAITED UNTIL THE
- 17 LAST DAY UNDER THE LAW TO RAISE THEIR CHALLENGE, BUT GO
- 18 **AHEAD**.
- MR. TABAS: THERE WERE MANY OPPORTUNITIES
- FOR THEM TO DO OTHER THINGS PRIOR TO THE DATE THEY DID
- FILE IT AND THE DATE THAT THEY GOT HERE.
- JUST -- BRIEFLY, THE OTHER THING THAT I
- 23 WANT TO POINT OUT TO THE COURT IS, AFTER THEY FILED THE
- 24 COMPLAINT IN THIS COURT THIS MONDAY, THE PLAINTIFFS
- 25 THROUGH THE PARTIES THAT THEY HAVE CONTROLLED,

- 1 SUPERVISED, FINANCED, CORRALLED AND ENCOURAGED AND WITH
- 2 THE SAME ATTORNEYS THAT ARE SITTING HERE TODAY AND WITH
- 3 SIMILAR EXPERT WITNESSES, ALSO HAVE RAISED THE VERY SAME
- 4 ISSUES THAT ARE BEFORE YOUR HONOR IN THE PHILADELPHIA
- 5 COUNTY COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, ALLEGHENY COUNTY COURT OF
- 6 COMMON PLEAS, PREVIOUSLY ALSO IN MONTGOMERY COUNTY AS
- 7 WELL. IN THE DAYS BETWEEN MONDAY AND TODAY, THE
- 8 PHILADELPHIA COURT OF COMMON PLEAS JUST YESTERDAY TURNED
- 9 DOWN THEIR REQUEST FOR A FORENSIC EXAMINATION.
- 10 THE COURT: I READ JUDGE FLETMAN'S
- 11 OPINION.
- 12 MR. TABAS: THAT WAS TWO DAYS AGO. THAT
- 13 WAS MY FAULT. TWO DAYS AGO. YESTERDAY JUDGE JAMES IN
- 14 ALLEGHENY COUNTY, THE SAME THING, ISSUED AN ORDER
- 15 TURNING THEM DOWN, BOTH SAYING THERE IS NO RIGHT. THE
- 16 STATUTE, THE LEGISLATURE HAS PROVIDED FOR NO RIGHT OF A
- 17 FORENSIC EXAMINATION AS REQUESTED. SO EVEN WHILE THEY
- 18 ARE ASKING YOU FOR THAT, THEY ARE ALSO SIMULTANEOUSLY
- ASKING THESE OTHER COURTS, THAT THE MONTGOMERY COUNTY
- 20 COURT TURNED THEM DOWN AS WELL, AND THEY RECENTLY
- 21 APPEALED THAT I BELIEVE YESTERDAY.
- 22 SO THEY ARE NOT ONLY FORUM SHOPPING.
- 23 THEY ARE FORUM AVOIDANCE.
- 24 THE COURT: ANY DECISION BY THE MICHIGAN
- 25 SUPREME COURT? CAN ANYBODY TELL ME?

- 1 MR. TABAS: YES. AND I DID -- WE GOT IT
- 2 IN TIME YESTERDAY THAT I COULD PUT IT INTO OUR BRIEF.
- 3 WHAT HAPPENED IS THE MICHIGAN COURT OF APPEALS, FEDERAL
- 4 COURT OF APPEALS.
- 5 THE COURT: I'M AWARE OF WHAT THE SIXTH
- 6 CIRCUIT HAS DONE. I'M AWARE OF WHAT THE MICHIGAN COURT
- OF APPEALS HAS DONE. MY UNDERSTANDING WAS THERE WAS
- 8 REVIEW BEING SOUGHT IN THE MICHIGAN SUPREME COURT.
- 9 MR. MAAZEL IS NODDING. HAS THE MICHIGAN SUPREME COURT
- 10 ACTED YET?
- 11 MR. TABAS: TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE,
- 12 NO. THE DISTRICT COURT THOUGH --
- 13 THE COURT: I UNDERSTAND WHAT THE
- 14 DISTRICT COURT DID.
- 15 MR. TABAS: YOU KNOW WHAT THEY DID.
- 16 THE COURT: I KNOW. I KNOW WHAT JUDGE
- GOLDSMITH, I GUESS, DID.
- 18 I'M LOOKING AT PLAINTIFFS COUNSEL TABLE,
- 19 NO DECISION YET OUT OF MICHIGAN?
- 20 MR. MAAZEL: NOT THAT I'VE HEARD. AS OF
- 21 THE MOMENT I WALKED INTO THIS COURTROOM.
- 22 THE COURT: IF YOU GUYS DON'T KNOW, I'M
- 23 SATISFIED THAT THERE IS NO DECISION YET.
- GO ON, MR. TABAS.
- MR. TABAS: THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR.

CLEARLY, I THINK THAT IT GOES WITHOUT 1 2 QUESTION AND THE SECRETARY WHO UNFORTUNATELY DID NOT HAVE A CHANCE TO DO MUCH OF AN ARGUMENT UNTIL THE END, 3 4 STATED ALSO CLEARLY IN HIS BRIEF, AS WE DID, THAT THERE HAS BEEN A COMPLETE FAILURE TO ALLEGE ANY FACTS WHICH IF 5 6 PROVEN WOULD HAVE CHANGED THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTION CERTAINLY AS TO MS. STEIN, AND SHE CERTAINLY COULD HAVE NO INTEREST IN CHANGING THE RESULTS FOR MS. CLINTON 8 9 BECAUSE SHE WAS RUNNING AGAINST MS. CLINTON. BUT I WANT TO REFER -- THE MICHIGAN 10 FEDERAL COURT DECISION THAT DID COME DOWN RELEASING THE 11 12 TRO IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE THAT LEADS ME TO GO INTO A 13 BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATUTORY PROCESS FOR THESE CHALLENGES THAT WERE AVAILABLE TO THE 14 PLAINTIFFS HERE IN THIS CASE. THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS 15 SHE CANNOT POINT TO ANY ACTS OF FRAUD, AS WE HAVE BEEN 16 SAYING THROUGHOUT THIS. BUT THE ENTIRE CLAIM THAT SHE 17 IS MAKING FOR RELIEF IN ALL OF HER PLEADINGS INCLUDING 18 19 THE PLEADINGS HERE, EVEN THOUGH THEY CITE THE 20 CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISION IS -- BASICALLY ONLY EMANATES 21 FROM STATE LAW. THERE IS NO CLAIM BY THE PLAINTIFFS, ANYWHERE OTHER THAN THOSE PROVISIONS, THAT THERE IS ANY 22 23 STATUTORY FEDERAL RIGHT TO THE RELIEF THAT THEY ARE SEEKING. AND THE MICHIGAN U.S. DISTRICT COURT IN THE 24 EASTERN DISTRICT YESTERDAY CONCLUDED THAT AS WELL. 25

1 BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY, THAT COURT IN THE 2 DECISION YESTERDAY WENT THROUGH THE ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE 3 OF THE STATE IN POST ELECTION CHALLENGES. IN CITING 4 BUSH VERSUS GORE, NUMBER ONE, THEY WENT THROUGH AND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SUPREME COURT STATED THAT THE 5 FEDERAL COURTS WILL NOT INTERFERE WITH THE PROCESS BY 6 WHICH THE CONSTITUTION HAS GIVEN TO THE LEGISLATURES OF THE STATE THE POWER TO HANDLE THE ELECTION OF ELECTORS 8 TO THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE. THAT IS A CONSTITUTIONAL 9 RIGHT DELEGATED TO THE LEGISLATURE. OUR LEGISLATURE HAS 10 GONE THROUGH AND IN OUR STATUTE WE HAVE THE PROVISIONS 11 12 OF HOW THE ELECTORS ARE TO BE ELECTED TO THE ELECTORAL 13 COLLEGE. IN BUSH ONE, THE SUPREME COURT SAID THAT IS NOT A PROCESS TO BE INTERFERED WITH BY THE FEDERAL 14 15 COURTS. AND OUR PROCESS HAS BEEN IN PLACE FOR 16 17 QUITE SOME TIME, AND THERE IS A BASIC HISTORY OF CASE LAW THAT SUPPORTS AND SETS FORTH CLEARLY WHAT MUST BE 18 19 DONE. I CITE IT IN REFERENCE TODAY THE MADIGAN CASE, 20 THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA AND ALSO THE 21 PHILADELPHIA MAYORALTY ONE AND THEY CITE NUMEROUS CASES 22 AS WELL. THERE IS A QUITE CLEAR PROCESS THAT ANYONE CAN 23 FOLLOW IN ORDER TO GET POST ELECTION RELIEF. AND IMPORTANTLY, ONE OF THE CASES THAT WE 24 CITED OF THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA IN THE CASE 25

- 1 OF IN RE: JONES, THE REASON FOR ALL THIS IS, YOUR
- 2 HONOR, IS BECAUSE THERE IS A MAJOR PUBLIC POLICY REASON
- 3 WHY ELECTION CONTESTS HAVE TO BE DECIDED EXPEDITIOUSLY
- 4 BECAUSE OF THE ABILITY TO HAVE TRANSFER OF POWER, HAVE
- 5 GOVERNMENT CONTINUE AND TO BE EFFECTIVE IN THIS
- 6 PARTICULAR WAY.
- 7 I WANT TO ALSO MOVE ON BRIEFLY TO THE
- 8 ISSUE OF STANDING, YOUR HONOR. WE BELIEVE -- THE
- 9 INTERVENORS BELIEVE THAT THIS COURT LACKS JURISDICTION
- 10 OVER THIS CASE ENTIRELY BECAUSE THE PLAINTIFFS HAVE NO
- 11 STANDING. NOW I HAVE ARGUED SOME OTHER POINTS FIRST
- 12 BEFORE I GOT TO YOUR JURISDICTIONAL ONE, I APOLOGIZE,
- 13 BUT I THOUGHT THE BACKGROUND WOULD BE HELPFUL. STEIN
- 14 HERSELF HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO ASSERT, NOR CAN YOU FIND IT
- 15 IN ANY ONE OF HER PLEADINGS ANYWHERE, ANY ACTUAL INJURY
- 16 OR EVEN AN IDENTIFIABLE POTENTIAL HARM. SHE HAS TO,
- 17 UNDER THE STANDARD OF WITTMAN -- AND I'M GOING TO HAVE
- 18 TROUBLE PRONOUNCING THE DEFENDANT IN WITTMAN,
- 19 PERSONHUBALLAH, WHATEVER, BUT WE HAVE CITED IT.
- 20 UNDER THAT DECISION OF THE U.S. SUPREME
- 21 COURT, SHE HAS TO BE ABLE TO PROVE THAT SHE HAS AN
- 22 INJURY TRACEABLE TO THE CONDUCT LIKELY TO BE ADDRESSED
- 23 BY A FAVORABLE OUTCOME. SHE HAS NONE. SHE HAS NOT
- 24 ASSERTED ONE. THEREFORE SHE HAS NO INJURY FOR WHICH SHE
- 25 CAN HAVE STANDING. AND NOTABLY NOWHERE IN ANY OF HER

- 1 PLEADINGS DID STEIN SAY SHE WILL WIN OR MIGHT WIN. IN
- 2 FACT, SHE HAS THIS GENERAL ALLEGATION OF MAYBE DOING
- 3 GOOD TO FIND OUT WHO DID THE VOTERS REALLY VOTE FOR.
- 4 AND ALSO AS THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES HELD
- 5 IN LUJAN VERSUS THE DEFENDERS OF WILDLIFE CASE, WHICH WE
- 6 CITED, THAT YOU CANNOT SIMPLY COME IN AND HAVE STANDING
- 7 BECAUSE YOU HAVE A GENERALLY AVAILABLE GRIEVANCE ABOUT
- 8 GOVERNMENT. I THINK IT'S PROBABLY COMMON THAT MANY
- 9 PEOPLE HAVE SUCH A GRIEVANCE. BUT YOU HAVE TO SHOW HARM
- 10 TO YOURSELF OR THE LIKELIHOOD OF THAT.
- 11 NOW WRIGHTS, HE HAS ABSOLUTELY NO
- 12 STANDING BECAUSE HE HAS PLEADED NO FACTS WHATSOEVER THAT
- 13 WOULD SHOW THAT HIS VOTE WAS NOT COUNTED.
- 14 SO ON THAT BASIS, YOUR HONOR, THE LACK OF
- 15 STANDING I WOULD SUGGEST TO THIS COURT DEPRIVES THIS
- 16 COURT OF JURISDICTION OVER THIS MATTER, AND IT SHOULD BE
- 17 -- PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION SHOULD BE CERTAINLY DENIED FOR
- 18 THAT BASIS AND I WOULD ALSO ASK THAT THE CASE BE
- 19 **DISMISSED AS WELL.**
- 20 THE PLAINTIFFS CLEARLY, YOUR HONOR, DO
- 21 NOT MEET THE STANDARDS FOR A PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION.
- 22 AND I'M NOT HERE ON THE MOTION BY THE WAY FOR -- TO
- 23 DISMISS. I'M ONLY IN A RESPONSE TO THE PI. THERE IS NO
- 24 LIKELIHOOD OF SUCCESS ON THE MERITS. I THINK THEIR
- 25 STRONGEST ARGUMENT THEY BELIEVE THEY COULD HAVE MADE WAS

- 1 THROUGH THE EXPERTS TODAY, AND I THINK THAT WAS
- 2 COMPLETELY SHOWN TO HAVE NO MERIT AND NO VALUE,
- 3 CERTAINLY NO ALLEGATIONS OF ANYTHING IN PENNSYLVANIA
- 4 REGARDING THE MACHINES, NONE WHATSOEVER FROM THEIR OWN
- 5 EXPERT.
- 6 STEIN HERSELF, IN AN ARTICLE THAT SHE
- 7 RECENTLY WAS INTERVIEWED FOR IN COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE,
- 8 NOT SOMETHING I USUALLY READ, BUT WE DID CITE IT AND I
- 9 GAVE YOU THE LINK.
- 10 THE COURT: AT LEAST AS INTERESTING AS
- 11 THE PRO HAC MOTION.
- 12 MR. TABAS: I BETTER NOT COMMENT THERE.
- 13 I WILL GET IN TROUBLE. SHE QUOTED. THIS IS STEIN
- 14 HERSELF, REGARDING THE -- WHY DID SHE WITHDRAW THE
- 15 PENNSYLVANIA ELECTION CONTEST? QUOTE: WELL, THE
- 16 PROBLEM WAS NOT THAT IT WAS TOO EXPENSIVE, BUT IT WAS A
- 17 DEAD END COURSE OF ACTION, END QUOTE. SHE WENT ON TO
- 18 SAY: THEN THERE IS THE OTHER ISSUE OF THE POLITICAL
- 19 ENTRENCHED COURT SYSTEM WHERE THEY PUT THE RECOUNT
- 20 CAMPAIGN IN AN IMPOSSIBLE SITUATION BY CALLING FOR A
- 21 COURT DATE THAT WOULD REQUIRE EVIDENCE ABOUT THE
- 22 PROBLEMS WITH THE VOTING SYSTEM BEFORE WE WOULD HAVE THE
- 23 EVIDENCE, END OF QUOTE. SO SHE IS ADMITTING SHE HAD NO
- 24 EVIDENCE TO EVEN BRING THE CLAIM.
- 25 THEN IN THE COMMONWEALTH COURT CASE, SHE

- 1 ASKS FOR A CONTINUANCE AND IN THE CONTINUANCE FURTHER
- 2 ADMITTED THAT THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE FOR THE CLAIM. THAT
- 3 IS WHY THEY NEEDED IT.
- 4 NOW LET ME GET QUICKLY TO THE TIMELINE
- 5 BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT THERE HAS BEEN COMPLETELY
- 6 UNREASONABLE DELAY HERE, WHICH WOULD BE GROUNDS TO DENY
- 7 THE PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION. I MENTIONED THAT ON
- 8 NOVEMBER 8TH WAS THE ELECTION. BETWEEN NOVEMBER 9TH AND
- 9 THE 13TH THEY TOOK NO STEPS WHATSOEVER TO ASSERT ANY
- 10 CLAIMS THAT THEY COULD HAVE HAD UNDER THE ELECTION CODE.
- 11 IN FACT THEY TOOK NO STEPS THAT THEY COULD HAVE TAKEN
- 12 PRIOR TO THE ELECTION. THERE ARE AT LEAST THREE
- 13 PROVISIONS UNDER THE ELECTION CODE FOR STEPS THAT A
- 14 CANDIDATE AND POLITICAL PARTIES CAN TAKE TO EXAMINE
- 15 VOTING MACHINES AND TO RAISE ALL OF THESE ISSUES. THEY
- 16 HAVE NEVER DONE ANY OF THAT.
- 17 THEIR EXPERT AND THEY ADMIT THAT THEY
- 18 HAVE KNOWN ABOUT THESE PROBLEMS FOR YEARS, BUT THEY
- 19 WAITED UNTIL THIS LAST MINUTE NOW TO DO IT. ON
- 20 NOVEMBER 14TH BY LAW IN PENNSYLVANIA, THE OFFICIAL
- 21 COMPUTATION OF THE BALLOTS AND THE VOTES TAKE PLACE, IN
- 22 ALL 67 COUNTIES. DID NOT RAISE ANY CONCERNS THROUGHOUT
- 23 THAT WHOLE PROCESS THAT IS OPEN TO THE PUBLIC, TO WHICH
- 24 THEY ARE ALLOWED TO HAVE WATCHERS PRESENT. EVEN
- 25 LAWYERS, THEY COULD EVEN -- IT'S A GOOD THING FOR

- 1 LAWYERS. THEY CAN MAKE A LIVING. THEY COULD GO DOWN
- 2 AND WATCH IT. DID NONE OF THAT.
- 3 THEN, ON NOVEMBER 28TH, THE LAST POSSIBLE
- 4 DAY TO FILE ELECTION CONTEST, THEY FILED ONE. IT'S TWO
- 5 PAGES. TWO PAGES. THERE WAS A THIRD PAGE. IT WAS
- 6 BASICALLY A SIGNATURE LINE AND SO FORTH OF LEARNED
- 7 COUNSEL. THE ELECTION CONTEST DID NOT EVEN RAISE ANY
- 8 CONSTITUTIONAL CLAIM WHATSOEVER. IT CONTAINED NO
- 9 EVIDENCE OF ACTING. IN FACT, THEY WENT ON AND BASICALLY
- 10 ADMITTED IN THE ELECTION CONTEST THAT IT WAS A PLACE
- 11 HOLDER. THEY SAID HERE WE ARE JUST FILING BECAUSE OF
- 12 THE DEADLINE AND WE ARE IN SEARCH OF EVIDENCE, A FISHING
- 13 EXPEDITION, AS THE STATE HAD SAID. BUT THAT IS
- 14 COMPLETELY IN VIOLATION OF THE STATUTORY REQUIREMENTS OF
- 15 THE ELECTION CODE UNDER 3456, 3457, 3458.
- 16 NOVEMBER 29TH, THE COMMONWEALTH COURT
- 17 PROMPTLY SCHEDULED HEARINGS IN THAT MATTER. NEXT TWO
- 18 DAYS LATER THEY ASKED FOR A CONTINUANCE OF THREE DAYS.
- 19 THE COURT EVEN GAVE THEM A PARTIAL CONTINUANCE AND SAID,
- 20 FINE, ON DECEMBER 5TH, MONDAY THE 5TH, YOU WILL HAVE
- 21 ORAL ARGUMENT. HERE ARE SOME ISSUES I WANT YOU TO
- 22 ADDRESS. I WILL GIVE YOU TO THE 8TH OF DECEMBER TO PUT
- 23 ON YOUR EVIDENCE, WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN TODAY, YOUR
- HONOR.
- 25 WHAT DID THEY DO? BY THE WAY, THE COURT

- 1 EVEN WENT A COUPLE OF STEPS FURTHER. THEY ALSO SET THE
- 2 BOND AT A MILLION DOLLARS, THAT'S CORRECT. BUT THE
- 3 COURT MADE IT CLEAR IN THE ORDER. ANY OF THE PARTIES
- 4 CAN GO INTO THE COURT AND SEEK THE RIGHT TO MODIFY IT
- 5 UPON GOOD CAUSE SHOWN. THEY DID NOT DO THAT, BUT THE
- 6 COURT DID SOMETHING UNUSUAL. THEY KEPT THE COMMONWEALTH
- 7 COURT E-FILE SYSTEM OPEN THROUGH THE WEEKEND, DIRECTED
- 8 THE CHIEF CLERK TO GIVE US HIS E-MAIL AND PHONE NUMBER
- 9 SO THAT IF WE WANTED TO FILE PLEADINGS ON THOSE ISSUES
- 10 OVER THE WEEKEND, THEY COULD BE ACCEPTED AND DISTRIBUTED
- 11 TO THE PARTIES. NOW, I WILL TELL YOU THEY DID FILE
- 12 SOMETHING. ON SATURDAY NIGHT AT 5 PM THEY FILED TO
- 13 WITHDRAW, AND THE COURT CLOSED THE CASE.
- 14 THEY HAD A PRESS CONFERENCE ON SUNDAY THE
- 15 6TH SAYING THEY WERE GOING TO COME IN AND VISIT YOUR
- 16 HONOR AND FILE A COMPLAINT, WHICH THEY DID THIS PAST
- MONDAY.
- 18 THE COURT: SUNDAY WAS NOT THE 6TH. THE
- 19 **4TH.**
- 20 MR. TABAS: THE 4TH. THE DAYS HAVE BEEN
- 21 FLYING BY, YOUR HONOR.
- 22 SO NOW WE HAVE GOTTEN TO THIS WHOLE
- 23 PROCESS, AND HERE WE ARE TODAY, ON THE EVE OF THE
- 24 FEDERAL SAFE HARBOR DEADLINE. THE BUSH VERSUS GORE, THE
- 25 MAJORITY CLEARLY SAID ALL PROCESSES HAVE TO END, AND

- 1 THEY ARE ABOUT TO END; AS THEY SAID THERE IS ONE LEFT,
- 2 IT WILL FINISH THIS WEEKEND, ALL CERTIFICATIONS WILL BE
- 3 **IN.**
- 4 THIS IS A VERY CLEAR AND SEVERE DELAY
- 5 WHICH FEDERAL COURTS HAVE ROUTINELY RECOGNIZED IS THE
- 6 BASIS FOR DENYING PRELIMINARY INJUNCTIONS. IN FACT,
- 7 THIS VERY COURT SAID NOT TOO LONG AGO THAT IN THE CASE
- 8 OF THE PENNSYLVANIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY VERSUS THE
- 9 REPUBLICAN PARTY AND MR. TRUMP, ET AL: DILATORY CONDUCT
- 10 WEIGHS DECIDEDLY AGAINST GRANTING THE EXTRAORDINARY
- 11 RELIEF IT SEEKS ESPECIALLY WHERE HERE THERE IS AN
- 12 ELECTION LOOMING. THAT WAS THE DAY BEFORE.
- 13 THIS COURT SAID THAT AN UNREASONABLE
- 14 DELAY IS BASIS FOR DENYING INJUNCTIVE RELIEF, DELAY
- 15 KNOCKS THE BOTTOM OUT OF ANY CLAIM OF THE IMMEDIATE AND
- 16 IRREPARABLE INJURY. YOUR HONOR, I THOUGHT THAT WAS WELL
- 17 **PUT.**
- 18 THE COURT: THANK YOU.
- MR. TABAS: THAT IS WHERE WE ARE HERE
- 20 TODAY. THEN FINALLY, YOUR HONOR, I WILL CONCLUDE, THE
- 21 SAFE HARBOR, I JUST WANT TO GO BACK TO THAT AGAIN. THIS
- 22 IS THE MOST CRITICAL PART.
- 23 PENNSYLVANIA MUST CERTIFY THE ELECTORS BY
- 24 DECEMBER 13TH. IN FACT, IT WOULD BE BEST IF THEY WERE
- 25 ALL CERTIFIED ON THE 12TH TO THE SECRETARY OF THE

- 1 COMMONWEALTH WHO HAS TO PRESENT THE RESULTS TO THE
- 2 GOVERNOR. THE GOVERNOR ACTUALLY IS IN CHARGE OF
- 3 CERTIFYING THE ELECTORS. THIS IS UNDER 3 U.S.C. SECTION
- 4 5. THE ELECTORS MUST MEET BY LAW, BY FEDERAL LAW BY
- 5 DECEMBER 19TH TO CAST THEIR BALLOT. PENNSYLVANIA AS I
- 6 SAID PARTICIPATES IN THE SAFE HARBOR. JUST A QUICK
- 7 REVIEW OF EVEN TITLE 25 SECTION 3191 TO 3194. IT'S BEEN
- 8 IN PLACE FOR YEARS. SO HERE WE ARE, ONE BUSINESS DAY,
- 9 TWO BUSINESS DAYS BEFORE THE DEADLINE, THE HARM TO THE
- 10 INTERVENORS IS IRREPARABLE BECAUSE THE FAILURE TO
- 11 CERTIFY WILL DISENFRANCHISE ALL OF THOSE VOTERS IN
- 12 PENNSYLVANIA WHO HAVE VOTED FOR THOSE ELECTORS.
- 13 THERE HAVE BEEN NO PERCEPTIBLE CHANGE IN
- 14 THOSE FEW COUNTIES WHERE THERE HAVE BEEN SOME RECOUNTS
- 15 AND RECANVASSES. BUSH VERSUS GORE, AND I WILL END ON
- 16 THIS, HAS SAID QUITE CLEARLY, THAT ANY CONTROVERSY
- 17 LEADING TO CONCLUSIVE SELECTION OF ELECTORS MUST END,
- 18 AND THAT YEAR IT WAS DECEMBER 12TH. THE SUPREME COURT
- SAID, AND THIS WAS THE MAJORITY, THIS WAS BUSH TWO, THAT
- 20 STATUTE, REFERRING TO 3 U.S.C. SECTION 5, IN TURN
- 21 REQUIRES THAT ANY CONTROVERSY OR CONTEST THAT IS
- 22 DESIGNED TO LEAD TO A CONCLUSIVE SELECTION OF ELECTORS
- 23 TO BE COMPLETED BY DECEMBER 12TH, WHICH THIS YEAR WOULD
- 24 **BE THE 13TH.**
- 25 SO FOR THOSE REASONS WE WOULD ASK THAT

- 1 THE COURT DENY THE REQUEST FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION IN
- THIS MATTER. THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR.
- 3 THE COURT: THANK YOU.
- 4 MR. MAAZEL.
- 5 MR. MAAZEL: YOUR HONOR, I THINK I MAY
- 6 STAND AT THE PODIUM.
- 7 THE COURT: THAT IS FINE.
- 8 MR. MAAZEL: I THINK ONE THING THAT IS
- 9 INTERESTING ABOUT TODAY'S ARGUMENT IS ACTUALLY HOW
- 10 LITTLE IS IN DISPUTE.
- 11 IF WE GO TO THE SEVEN BURDENS THAT WE
- 12 HAVE DISCUSSED EARLIER. THE FIRST QUESTION OF --
- 13 THE COURT: IF YOU DON'T MIND. WHY DON'T
- 14 YOU ADDRESS TIMELINESS FIRST.
- 15 WHY DID YOU WAIT UNTIL NOVEMBER 28TH?
- 16 MR. MAAZEL: SURE. SO THERE ARE A NUMBER
- 17 OF REASONS, YOUR HONOR.
- 18 THE FIRST IS THAT FOR VOTERS TO GO
- 19 THROUGH THIS PENNSYLVANIA PROCESS THE VOTERS HAVE TO DO
- 20 IT. IT'S A HUGE GRASSROOTS MOVEMENT. I MEAN THERE ARE
- 21 OVER 1300 PEOPLE WHO MOBILIZED AND WHO WENT TO SEEK
- 22 THESE PETITIONS. THAT HAD TO HAPPEN FIRST REALLY BEFORE
- 23 JILL STEIN COULD COME TO FEDERAL COURT BECAUSE WE HAD TO
- 24 DO OUR BEST TO WORK THROUGH THE STATE --
- 25 THE COURT: I DID NOT ASK YOU WHY YOU

- 1 FILED HERE ON DECEMBER 5TH, I ASKED WHY, IF INDEED YOU
- 2 FILED A PLACEHOLDER ON NOVEMBER 28TH, WHY DIDN'T YOU
- 3 FILE A PLACEHOLDER ON NOVEMBER 9TH?
- 4 MR. MAAZEL: WELL, I MEAN, THE PROBLEM
- 5 WITH THE WHOLE PLACEHOLDER ISSUE IS THAT THE STATES
- 6 ACTUALLY REQUIRES US TO FILE AS SOON AS WE DID. WE
- 7 FILED ON THE LAST DAY BECAUSE WE HAD TO.
- 8 THE COURT: I UNDERSTAND THAT BUT YOU ARE
- 9 NOT ONLY ASKING FOR AN EMERGENCY INJUNCTION, ALTHOUGH NO
- 10 ONE HAS POINTED IT OUT, YOU ARE ASKING FOR A MANDATORY
- 11 INJUNCTION, WHICH IS EVEN HARDER TO GET, AND ONE COULD
- 12 SAY THAT YOU, NOT YOU PERSONALLY BUT YOU, SAT ON YOUR
- 13 RIGHTS FOR SOME THREE WEEKS NECESSITATING WHAT JUDGE
- 14 PAPPERT CALLS, IN RULING AGAINST A SIMILAR TACTIC BY THE
- 15 STATE REPUBLICAN PARTY, A JUDICIAL FIRE DRILL.
- 16 I HAVE WORKED ON NOTHING ELSE SINCE I GOT
- THIS ON DECEMBER 5TH, AND I WILL BE LUCKY TO GET MY
- 18 OPINION OUT AND GIVE EVERYBODY THE CHANCE TO BE HEARD ON
- 19 DECEMBER 12TH. HAD YOU FILED TWO OR THREE WEEKS
- 20 EARLIER, NONE OF THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN NECESSARY AND IT
- 21 WOULD ALSO SUGGEST, CONFIRM THE IDEA OF A REAL EMERGENCY
- 22 WARRANTING THE ISSUANCE OF A MANDATORY INJUNCTION.
- 23 MR. MAAZEL: HERE I THINK, YOUR HONOR, IS
- 24 THE KEY DIFFERENCE. I BELIEVE IT WOULD HAVE BEEN
- 25 IRRESPONSIBLE THE DAY AFTER THE ELECTION TO FILE A

- 1 CONTEST BECAUSE USUALLY YOU ARE SUPPOSED TO FILE A
- 2 CONTEST OF A CERTIFIED ELECTION. THERE HAS TO BE
- 3 SOMETHING --
- 4 THE COURT: WHY DID YOU WAIT TWO WEEKS
- 5 AFTER THE CERTIFICATION? THE ELECTION WAS CERTIFIED ON
- 6 NOVEMBER 14TH.
- 7 MR. MAAZEL: IT WAS -- IT SHOULD HAVE
- 8 BEEN BUT IT HAS NOT BEEN. TO THIS DAY, THE ELECTION HAS
- 9 NOT BEEN CERTIFIED BECAUSE COUNTIES HAVE BEEN COUNTING A
- 10 LOT SLOWER THAN THEY ARE REQUIRED TO UNDER PENNSYLVANIA
- 11 LAW SO WE WERE PUT IN THIS VERY ODD POSITION OF HAVING
- 12 TO FILE A CONTEST EVEN ON THE LAST DAY. WHEN I SAY "WE"
- 13 I MEAN THE VOTERS OF PENNSYLVANIA. EVEN BEFORE THERE
- 14 REALLY WAS AN ELECTION TO CONTEST AND THAT IS PART OF
- 15 OUR ARGUMENT TODAY, IS THAT THIS STATUTE PUTS VOTERS AND
- 16 CANDIDATES IN AN IMPOSSIBLE SITUATION.
- 17 THE COURT: WOULD YOU AGREE WITH ME THAT
- 18 PRECLUDING PENNSYLVANIA FROM COMPLYING WITH THE
- 19 DECEMBER 13TH CERTIFICATION WOULD DISENFRANCHISE ALL OF
- 20 PENNSYLVANIA'S VOTERS?
- 21 MR. MAAZEL: AND THAT IS CERTAINLY NOT
- OUR INTENT.
- 23 THE COURT: BUT ISN'T THAT SOMETHING THAT
- 24 I HAVE TO THINK ABOUT IN BALANCING THE EQUITIES?
- MR. MAAZEL: WE CERTAINLY HAVE TO

- 1 CONSIDER TIMING, I APPRECIATE THAT POINT, YOUR HONOR.
- 2 THE COURT: HERE IT'S DISENFRANCHISEMENT?
- MR. MAAZEL: WHICH IS RELATED TO TIMING,
- 4 I AGREE WITH YOUR HONOR.
- 5 THE COURT: HAD YOU FILED A WEEK OR TWO
- 6 EARLIER, NONE OF THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN NECESSARY. MY
- 7 CLERKS WOULD REMEMBER WHAT THEIR APARTMENTS LOOK LIKE
- AND WHAT IT IS LIKE TO SLEEP. ALL OF THIS COULD HAVE
- 9 BEEN DONE AT A MUCH SANER PACE.
- 10 MR. MAAZEL: WELL, I CERTAINLY HAVE
- 11 SOMETHING IN COMMON WITH YOUR CLERKS, YOUR HONOR. I'M
- 12 AFRAID TO SAY AS DO ALL MY COLLEAGUES HERE, INCLUDING
- 13 MR. HARVEY.
- 14 THE COURT: ESPECIALLY MR. HARVEY.
- 15 MR. MAAZEL: LOOK, TO COME TO FEDERAL
- 16 COURT I THINK WAS VERY IMPORTANT FOR US TO HAVE A RECORD
- 17 OF WHAT HAPPENED IN THE STATE COURT, AND VOTERS DID
- 18 THEIR ABSOLUTE BEST TO WORK WITHIN THE STATE SYSTEM.
- 19 THEY WORKED WITHIN THE ELECTION CODE. THEY TRIED TO
- FILE THESE PETITIONS. THEY -- YOU KNOW, IN 16 COUNTIES,
- 21 OVER 1300 PEOPLE. I THINK OVER 375 PETITIONS. THIS WAS
- 22 AN INCREDIBLE AMOUNT OF WORK AND WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR
- 23 THAT THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NOTHING THAT VOTERS --
- 24 THE COURT: THIS IS NOT THE FIRST
- 25 CHALLENGE TO AN ELECTION THAT HAS EVER BEEN FILED IN

- 1 PENNSYLVANIA. AND THEY ARE GENERALLY FILED BEFORE THE
- 2 LAST DAY, EVEN IN STATEWIDE ELECTIONS, EVEN IN STATEWIDE
- 3 ELECTIONS WHERE, IN YOUR VIEW, ALL 67 COUNTIES DO THINGS
- 4 DIFFERENTLY. BUT HERE WHERE WE HAVE A COLD, HARD
- 5 PROVISION THAT WILL DISENFRANCHISE 6 MILLION PEOPLE,
- 6 YOUR CLIENTS WAITED UNTIL NOVEMBER 28TH TO PROCEED,
- 7 MAKING IT ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO COMPLY EVEN IF YOU HAD
- 8 GOTTEN THE RELIEF YOU WANTED FROM THE COMMONWEALTH
- 9 COURT, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO COMPLY
- 10 WITH THE DECEMBER 13TH CUTOFF.
- 11 MR. MAAZEL: THIS IS, I THINK, A PROBLEM
- 12 REALLY CREATED -- I DON'T THINK IT IS CREATED BY THE
- 13 PLAINTIFFS IN THIS CASE. I THINK IT'S A PROBLEM CREATED
- 14 BY THE STATUTORY SCHEME IN PENNSYLVANIA, BECAUSE -- AND
- 15 THE REALITY OF ALL OF THESE COUNTIES COUNTING VOTES LONG
- 16 AFTER THEY SHOULD, AND SO THE IDEA THAT WE ARE SUPPOSED
- 17 TO -- THAT VOTERS GO INTO COURT.
- 18 THE COURT: I MEAN I ASKED YOUR EXPERT
- 19 WITNESS, IS THERE ANYTHING YOU HAVE TESTIFIED TO THAT
- 20 YOU DIDN'T KNOW BEFORE NOVEMBER 8TH? HE SAID, NO. I
- 21 HAVE LOOKED THROUGH EVERYTHING YOU HAVE SUBMITTED. ALL
- 22 OF THIS STUFF YOU WERE WELL AWARE OF WELL BEFORE THE
- 23 ELECTION. YOU HAVE LEARNED NOTHING OTHER THAN THE FACT
- 24 THAT ONE CANDIDATE WON AND THREE CANDIDATES LOST.
- 25 MR. MAAZEL: I MEAN, CERTAINLY SOMETHING

- 1 THAT I KNOW AT LEAST, YOUR HONOR, THAT WE CERTAINLY DID
- 2 NOT KNOW BEFORE THE ELECTION IS JUST HOW UNBELIEVABLY
- 3 DIFFICULT IT IS FOR ORDINARY VOTERS TO BE ABLE TO MAKE
- 4 SURE THEIR VOTES COUNT UNDER THIS ELECTION REGIME.
- 5 I DON'T THINK AN EFFORT LIKE THIS HAS
- 6 ACTUALLY EVER TAKEN PLACE, AN ATTEMPTED STATEWIDE VOTER
- 7 INITIATED RECOUNT. I COULD BE WRONG BUT NOBODY HAS
- 8 POINTED ME TO ONE AND I THINK THAT THE RECORD DEVELOPED
- 9 THROUGH THAT EFFORT IS A VERY IMPORTANT PART OF THE
- 10 RECORD IN THIS CASE. YOU KNOW, WE WOULD NOT HAVE KNOWN
- 11 ABOUT ALL OF THE SECRET SHIFTING DEADLINES IN THESE
- 12 COUNTIES.
- 13 THE COURT: IF I CREDIT THE DEFENDANTS'
- 14 EXPERT AND DISCREDIT YOURS, YOU ARE OUT-OF-COURT, AM I
- 15 RIGHT?
- 16 MR. MAAZEL: WELL, WE HAVE FIVE SO I
- 17 THINK YOU WOULD HAVE TO DISCREDIT ALL FIVE.
- 18 THE COURT: JUST TALKING ABOUT THE TWO
- 19 EXPERTS THAT ARE HERE TODAY. IF I CREDIT THE
- 20 DEFENDANTS' EXPERT AND THAT MEANS I NECESSARILY
- 21 DISCREDIT YOUR EXPERT, YOU ARE OUT-OF-COURT, CORRECT?
- 22 MR. MAAZEL: I ACTUALLY DON'T AGREE WITH
- 23 THAT, YOUR HONOR. WE WOULD HAVE A HARDER CASE BUT HERE
- 24 IS WHY I BELIEVE THAT --
- 25 THE COURT: WELL, A DIPLOMATIC ANSWER BUT

I REALLY DON'T SEE HOW, IF I FIND THAT THE POSSIBILITY 1 OF HACKING THE PENNSYLVANIA ELECTION VOTING MACHINES IS 2 3 RIGHT UP THERE WITH SEEING ELVIS AGAIN, WHICH IS KIND OF 4 WHAT THE DEFENDANTS' EXPERT SAID. IF I CREDIT THAT, HOW DO YOU HAVE A LIKELIHOOD OF SUCCESS ON THE MERITS? HOW 5 DO YOU MAKE OUT IMMEDIATE IRREPARABLE HARM? HOW DO YOU 6 SHOW THAT A BALANCE OF THE EQUITIES, SIX MILLION PEOPLE DIVESTED OF THEIR VOTES VERSUS A SPECULATION OF HACKING? 8 MR. MAAZEL: NO QUESTION. I AGREE WITH 9 YOUR HONOR. I CONCEDE IT WOULD BE A HARDER CASE, MAYBE 10 EVEN A MUCH HARDER CASE. BUT THAT SAID, WE WOULD STILL 11 12 HAVE THE REALITY OF VOTERS HAVING NO WAY TO VERIFY THEIR 13 OWN VOTES IN THESE DRE MACHINES WHICH IS -- THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE STATES DO NOT DO ANYTHING LIKE THAT, AND 14 THEN THEIR COMPLETE AND UTTER INABILITY TO HAVE ANY 15 METHOD IN PENNSYLVANIA TO MAKE SURE THEIR VOTES COUNTED 16 WHEN THEY CAN'T VERIFY IT IN ANY WAY THEMSELVES WITH A 17 PAPER BALLOT. 18 19 NOW, THAT WOULD BE A HARDER CASE IN AND 20 OF ITSELF THAN THE CASE WE HAVE TODAY. I DO CONCEDE 21 THAT BUT IT STILL IS AN ENORMOUS BURDEN PLACED UPON THE PENNSYLVANIA VOTER TO BE ABLE TO MAKE SURE THEIR VOTES 22 23 COUNTED IN SOME MEANINGFUL WAY. IT'S STILL, I 24 BELIEVE -- THERE WAS A HARDER CASE, WOULD VIOLATE WHAT THE SIXTH CIRCUIT SAID A FEW DAYS AGO, WHICH IS IF YOU 25

- 1 ARE GOING TO GIVE VOTERS A RIGHT, YOU CAN'T BURDEN IT TO
- 2 THE EXTENT THAT THEY ARE UNABLE TO EXERCISE THAT RIGHT.
- 3 THAT IS EXACTLY THE STATUTORY SCHEME HERE AND THE
- 4 REALITY ON THE GROUND. I MEAN WHEN I READ THAT LINE IN
- 5 THE SIXTH CIRCUIT, THAT TO A TEE DESCRIBES EXACTLY WHAT
- 6 HAS HAPPENED IN PENNSYLVANIA. AND THAT IS THE RECORD
- 7 THAT WE HAVE DEVELOPED AND THAT IS WHY WE ULTIMATELY HAD
- 8 TO GO TO COURT. I WISH WE HAD COME A LITTLE EARLIER BUT
- 9 THE RECORD HAD NOT BEEN DEVELOPED EARLIER.
- 10 SO IT'S ALL -- THIS IS WHY I BELIEVE THE
- 11 THIRD CIRCUIT HAS SAID WE HAVE TO LOOK AT EVERYTHING IN
- 12 COMBINATION. IF WE REMOVE THE PIECE OF MR. HALDERMAN,
- 13 THE COMBINATION IS WEAKER THAN WITH HIM, I DO CONCEDE
- 14 THAT, BUT THERE'S STILL A COMBINATION OF FACTORS THAT IS
- 15 AT LEAST AS BURDENSOME AS A \$5 FILING FEE THAT THE 3RD
- 16 CIRCUIT SAID VERY CLEARLY VIOLATES THE EQUAL PROTECTION
- 17 CLAUSE. AND I JUST WANT TO ADD THAT THERE IS NO
- 18 DISPUTE, I MEAN ONE THING THAT IS REMARKABLE HERE IS
- 19 THAT THERE IS REALLY NO DISPUTE THAT I HAVE HEARD IN THE
- 20 PAPERS OR IN TODAY'S ARGUMENT AS TO THE COMPLETE LACK OF
- 21 NOTICE TO VOTERS. THERE IS NO DISPUTE AS TO THE
- 22 IMPOSSIBILITY OF VOTERS DOING ANYTHING CLOSE TO A
- 23 STATE-WIDE RECOUNT. THERE IS NO DISPUTE ABOUT THAT.
- THERE IS NO DISPUTE AS TO THE MASSIVE FEES --
- 25 THE COURT: IF THERE IS NO HACKING OF THE

- 1 VOTE, DO YOU STILL HAVE A CASE?
- 2 WITH ALL OF THOSE BURDENS, WITH THOSE
- 3 MEDIOCRE MACHINES, AND THE BYZANTINE NATURE OF
- 4 PENNSYLVANIA'S 67 COUNTIES AND 67 COUNTY COMMISSIONERS,
- 5 EACH OF WHOM THINKS HE IS GENGHIS KHAN OR SHE IS GENGHIS
- 6 KHAN, IF THERE IS NO HACKING, HOW DO YOU STILL HAVE A
- 7 CASE?
- 8 MR. MAAZEL: LET'S JUST START WITH
- 9 MONTGOMERY COUNTY.
- 10 MR. TABAS SAID THOSE ARE UNDER VOTES. I
- 11 DO URGE YOUR HONOR TO LOOK AT EXHIBIT 46. THERE WERE
- 12 ACTUALLY 420,000 UNDER VOTES MEANING PEOPLE WHO DID NOT
- 13 VOTE FOR EVERY SINGLE THING INCLUDING CONSTITUTIONAL
- 14 AMENDMENTS AND THE LIKE, BUT THERE WERE 4,087 -- BEFORE
- 15 I SAID 4,062. ACTUALLY 4,087.
- 16 THE COURT: I FORGIVE YOU.
- MR. MAAZEL: 4,087 NO VOTES; NOT UNDER
- 18 VOTES. NO VOTES. THAT IS THE LAST PAGE OF EXHIBIT 46.
- 19 SO WE KNOW OR WE DON'T KNOW, WE CAN SAY ALMOST TO
- 20 100 PERCENT CERTAINTY, CERTAINLY MORE PROBABLE THAN NOT,
- 21 PROBABLY WAY BEYOND CLEAR AND CONVINCING EVIDENCE THAT
- 4,087 PEOPLE DID NOT JUST SHOW UP AND DECIDE NOT TO VOTE
- 23 FOR ANYBODY OR ANYTHING AT ALL. THEY JUST WANTED TO BE
- 24 THERE. THAT IS IN COMBINATION WITH THE FIVE OR SIX
- 25 AFFIDAVITS WE HAVE IN THE RECORD THAT ESTABLISHED THAT

- 1 PEOPLE WERE TRYING TO PICK CANDIDATES AND THE NO BUTTON
- 2 KEPT SHOWING UP. SO THAT IS EVIDENCE. THAT IS
- 3 DISTURBING, THE IDEA THAT OVER 4,000 PENNSYLVANIA VOTERS
- 4 HAD BEEN DISENFRANCHISED AND THERE IS ACTUALLY NOTHING
- 5 THEY CAN DO IN THE STATE SYSTEM TO DEAL WITH THAT. THEY
- 6 CAN'T TAKE A RECOUNT, THEY CAN'T RECANVASS. NOTHING
- 7 THAT IS MEANINGFUL. IN AND OF ITSELF THAT IS, IN OUR
- 8 VIEW, A CONSTITUTIONAL VIOLATION AND THOSE PEOPLE ARE
- 9 BEING DISENFRANCHISED. WE DON'T WANT TO DISENFRANCHISE
- 10 ALL OF PENNSYLVANIA, THAT IS NOT OUR GOAL HERE. WE
- 11 WOULD LIKE TO GET THIS RELIEF.
- 12 THE COURT: WHAT CAN I DO FOR THOSE --
- 13 HOW MANY PEOPLE WAS IT, 4,000?
- 14 MR. MAAZEL: 4,087.
- 15 THE COURT: WHAT CAN I DO FOR THEM? THE
- 16 ELECTION HAS BEEN HELD. WHAT IS IT THAT I CAN -- YOU
- 17 HAVE ASKED FOR A FORENSIC EXAMINATION OF THOSE MACHINES.
- 18 THE FORENSIC EXAMINATION SAYS YES, 4,000 VOTES WERE NOT
- 19 RECORDED? WHAT IS IT THAT I DO? WHAT IS IT THAT YOU
- 20 ARE ASKING ME TO DO THAT I CAN DO TO CORRECT THAT?
- 21 MR. MAAZEL: THAT FORENSIC EXAMINATION
- 22 MAY WELL SAY WE FOUND THE MALWARE THAT CHANGED VOTES
- FROM X CANDIDATE.
- 24 THE COURT: NO, NO, NO. THOSE 4,000. I
- 25 CAN'T DO ANYTHING ABOUT THAT. IF, IN FACT, VOTES HAVE

- 1 NOT BEEN RECORDED AND THERE IS NO RECORD AS YOU SAY,
- 2 THEN THERE IS NO JUDICIAL REMEDY THAT I CAN THINK OF, IS
- 3 THERE?
- 4 MR. MAAZEL: I THINK THERE IS, YOUR
- 5 **HONOR**.
- 6 THE COURT: WHAT IS THAT?
- 7 MR. MAAZEL: YOU ARE RIGHT THAT THERE IS
- 8 NO PAPER BALLOT TO LOOK AT, WHICH IS A PROBLEM. THAT
- 9 MAKES THIS A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT CASE FROM SOME OTHER
- 10 CASES BUT -- AND I'M NO COMPUTER EXPERT, BUT IF A
- 11 COMPUTER EXPERT LOOKS INSIDE THE CODE AND SEES, IF VOTE
- 12 FOR CERTAIN PERSON, THEN NO VOTE. THEN IT'S CERTAINLY
- 13 POSSIBLE TO SAY, FOR A FACT FINDER SUCH AS YOUR HONOR TO
- 14 BE ABLE TO SAY, THOSE VOTES ACTUALLY SHOULD BE COUNTED
- 15 FOR CERTAIN PERSON. IT'S THE ONE AND ONLY --
- 16 THE COURT: THAT IS NOT -- THAT IS A
- 17 PROCESS IN ADDITION TO THE QUICK LOOK THAT YOU ARE
- 18 PROPOSING, CORRECT?
- MR. MAAZEL: IT'S SOMETHING THAT COULD BE
- 20 RESOLVED ON MONDAY.
- 21 THE COURT: WELL, WHAT COULD BE RESOLVED
- 22 IS THE -- WHAT YOU VIEW AS THE FORENSIC AUDIT OF SOME
- 23 NUMBER OF MACHINES. WHETHER OR NOT SOMEBODY CAN DIVINE
- 24 WHAT A VOTER, THE PERSON A VOTED WANTED TO VOTE FOR WHEN
- 25 SHE GOT THE NO, IS AN ENTIRELY SEPARATE PROCESS,

- 1 CORRECT?
- 2 MR. MAAZEL: IT'S RELATED BUT IT IS
- 3 SEPARATE, YES.
- 4 THE COURT: THAT WILL CERTAINLY TAKE US
- 5 PAST DECEMBER 13TH, CORRECT?
- 6 MR. MAAZEL: WELL, LET'S PUT IT THIS WAY.
- 7 THE COURT: LET'S PUT IT MY WAY. IT WILL
- 8 CERTAINLY TAKE US PAST DECEMBER 13TH?
- 9 MR. MAAZEL: I THINK IT'S POSSIBLE. I
- 10 DON'T KNOW WHAT THE FORENSIC EXAMINATION WILL SHOW. I
- 11 DON'T --
- 12 THE COURT: IF THE FORENSIC EXAMINATION
- 13 SHOWS A NEED FOR FURTHER EXAMINATION AND THE FORENSIC
- 14 EXAMINATION TAKES ONE TO TWO DAYS, AND I'M GIVING YOU
- 15 THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT, THAT IT BEGINS ON MONDAY
- 16 MORNING AFTER MY DECISION, ASSUMING THAT I RULE IN YOUR
- 17 FAVOR AND THE THIRD CIRCUIT DOES NOT STAY MY DECISION,
- 18 THAT IS DONE ON MONDAY. IT HAS TO BE CERTIFIED ON
- 19 TUESDAY. IT CAN'T BE CERTIFIED ON TUESDAY, CAN IT?
- 20 MR. MAAZEL: I THINK IF IT WERE MONDAY TO
- 21 TUESDAY, IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT. I WOULD LIKE
- TO MAKE A POINT IN RESPONSE TO THAT, YOUR HONOR.
- THE COURT: PLEASE.
- 24 MR. MAAZEL: WHICH IS, IF THERE IS A
- 25 FORENSIC EXAMINATION AND IT SHOWS THAT THERE WAS MALWARE

- 1 ON THE CENTRAL COMPUTER SYSTEMS OF SIX COUNTIES IN
- 2 PENNSYLVANIA THAT AFFECTED WHO -- THE ACCURATE TALLY OF
- 3 THE VOTE. IF WE LEARN THAT THERE WAS THIS SORT OF
- 4 HACKING AND FRAUD IN THE STATE, I THINK THERE WOULD BE
- 5 SERIOUS QUESTIONS AT THAT POINT ABOUT WHETHER IT WOULD
- 6 BE PROPER. THEN THE QUESTION IS, WHO ARE WE
- 7 DISENFRANCHISING? ARE WE DISENFRANCHISING THE
- 8 PENNSYLVANIA VOTERS WHO VOTED FOR ONE CANDIDATE OR THE
- 9 OTHER? IS THERE A SERIOUS QUESTION AS TO WHO THE
- 10 ELECTORS SHOULD BE? WE SHOULD KNOW THAT. I MEAN, IT
- 11 SEEMS TO ME THE ALTERNATIVE CAN'T BE TO DEPRIVE US OF
- 12 THAT INFORMATION, BECAUSE THAT WOULD DISENFRANCHISE THE
- 13 PEOPLE WHO ACTUALLY VOTED FOR A CERTAIN CANDIDATE AND SO
- 14 I JUST DON'T THINK THE -- THE ALTERNATIVE IS WORSE.
- 15 THE COURT: DARE I SAY YOU ARE OUT OF
- 16 TIME? IF YOU CAN CONCLUDE, I WOULD BE VERY GRATEFUL.
- MR. MAAZEL: OF COURSE.
- 18 I WOULD JUST, IN CONCLUSION, SAY THAT THE
- 19 GREAT MAJORITY OF OUR RECORD IS UNDISPUTED.
- 20 THIS IS A REGIME THAT IS UNFAIR TO
- 21 PENNSYLVANIA VOTERS. IT REALLY SUBVERTS OUR DEMOCRACY
- 22 AND I WOULD RESPECTFULLY REQUEST THAT YOU GRANT THE
- 23 PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION. THANK YOU, YOUR HONOR.
- THE COURT: THANK YOU, MR. MAAZEL.
- 25 MR. JOEL: FIVE MINUTES.

1	THE COURT: ALL RIGHT.
2	MR. JOEL: MIGHT EVEN TAKE LESS.
3	THE COURT: WHAT IS THE COMMONWEALTH'S
4	POSITION AS TO HOW LONG JUST THE HAND RECOUNT WOULD
5	TAKE?
6	MR. JOEL: DEPENDS ON THE NUMBER OF
7	PRECINCTS AND I MEAN
8	MS. UNGER: OUR WITNESS WHO CAN TESTIFY
9	TO THAT IS OUTSIDE. WE CAN GET THE ANSWER WITHIN A
10	MINUTE.
11	THE COURT: I GUESS WHAT I'M ASKING IS,
12	CAN ANY RELIEF BE AFFORDED THAT IS BEING REQUESTED HERE
13	WITHOUT BUTTING UP AGAINST THE DECEMBER 13TH DATE?
14	MR. JOEL: IT'S OUR POSITION, IT REALLY
15	CAN'T.
16	THE COURT: THAT ANSWERS MY QUESTION.
17	MR. JOEL: I THINK THE ONLY I JUST
18	WANT TO MAKE A FEW VERY QUICK POINTS. ONE, TO HIGHLIGHT
19	THE FACT THAT WHEN DR. HALDERMAN WAS ON THE STAND, HE
20	CONCEDED HACKING PROBABLY NOT.
21	THE COURT: IS YOUR EXPERT STILL HERE?
22	MR. JOEL: YES.
23	THE COURT: THERE HE IS.
24	I WOULD LIKE TO HEAR UNLESS THE
25	PARTIES HAVE AN OBJECTION, I WOULD LIKE TO HEAR FROM

- 1 BOTH EXPERTS ON THE LENGTH OF TIME THAT WOULD BE
- 2 NECESSARY TO GRANT VARIOUS FORMS OF RELIEF AND -- WHY
- 3 DON'T WE TAKE A SHORT BREAK SO THE PARTIES CAN TALK TO
- 4 THEIR WITNESSES BEFORE THEY CALL THEM, WHICH IS USUALLY
- 5 A GOOD IDEA.
- 6 THE CLERK: ALL RISE.
- 7 (BREAK TAKEN.)
- 8 THE CLERK: ALL RISE.
- 9 THE COURT: PLEASE BE SEATED. I WOULD
- 10 LIKE TO HEAR FROM DR. HALDERMAN FIRST. THERE IS NO NEED
- 11 TO SEQUESTER THE WITNESSES FOR THIS TESTIMONY.
- DR. HALDERMAN, PLEASE TAKE THE STAND.
- 13 MR. CELLI: DID YOU WANT TO QUESTION?
- 14 THE COURT: I WILL QUESTION.
- 15 BY THE COURT:
- 16 Q. PLEASE, YOU ARE STILL UNDER OATH, DOCTOR.
- 17 A. YES, YOUR HONOR.
- 18 THE COURT: MR. MAAZEL, THE LEAST FORM OF
- 19 RELIEF YOU WANT IS A MANUAL RECOUNT OF WHAT?
- 20 MR. MAAZEL: A MANUAL RECOUNT OF ONE
- 21 PRECINCT PER OPTICAL SCAN COUNTY EXCEPT FOR CHESTER,
- 22 WHERE THEY ARE ALREADY DOING RECOUNTING.
- 23 THE COURT: SO HOW MANY HAND RECOUNTS
- 24 WOULD THAT BE? HOW MANY OPTICAL SCAN COUNTIES ARE
- 25 **THERE?**

- 1 MR. TABAS: 17.
- 2 BY THE COURT:
- 3 Q. HOW LONG DO YOU THINK THAT WOULD TAKE, DOCTOR?
- 4 IS THAT WITHIN YOUR AREA OF EXPERTISE, A
- 5 HAND RECOUNT OF OPTICAL SCAN COUNTIES? IT DOES NOT
- 6 SOUND LIKE IT.
- 7 A. NO, I DON'T KNOW.
- 8 O. SO YOU DON'T KNOW?
- 9 A. NO, I DON'T KNOW.
- 10 THE COURT: THE OTHER FORM OF RELIEF YOU
- 11 ARE LOOKING FOR IS?
- 12 MR. MAAZEL: IS A FORENSIC EXAMINATION OF
- 13 THE CENTRAL COMPUTER SYSTEMS OF SIX COUNTIES.
- 14 THE COURT: ANY SIX IN PARTICULAR?
- 15 MR. MAAZEL: WELL, THE IDEA WAS -- I DO
- 16 HAVE A LIST HERE.
- 17 IT WAS SIX COUNTIES, EACH REPRESENTING
- 18 THE SIX TYPE OF DRE MACHINES AND THE IDEA WAS TO PICK
- 19 THE BIGGEST COUNTY THAT USES THAT MACHINE.
- 20 THE COURT: WITH THAT UNFORTUNATELY VERY
- VAGUE GUIDELINE, DOCTOR.
- MR. MAAZEL: I DO HAVE THE LIST HERE, I
- 23 APOLOGIZE.
- 24 BY THE COURT:
- Q. DO YOU KNOW ONE PENNSYLVANIA COUNTY FROM

- 1 ANOTHER?
- 2 A. YES, I WAS BORN IN BUCKS COUNTY.
- 3 Q. CONGRATULATIONS. GO AHEAD.
- 4 THE COURT: PLEASE GIVE THE NAMES OF THE
- 5 COUNTIES.
- 6 MR. MAAZEL: THEY ARE PHILADELPHIA,
- 7 ALLEGHENY, MONTGOMERY, LANCASTER, YORK AND WASHINGTON.
- 8 THE COURT: AND YOU WANT TO DO WHAT?
- 9 MR. MAAZEL: A FORENSIC EXAMINATION OF
- 10 THE CENTRAL COMPUTER SYSTEM IN EACH OF THOSE SIX.
- 11 BY THE COURT:
- 12 O. HOW LONG DO YOU THINK THAT WILL TAKE?
- 13 A. WE ARE PREPARED TO START IMMEDIATELY OR IN THE
- 14 MORNING ANYWAY WITH SIX DIFFERENT TEAMS TO DO THAT. I
- 15 BELIEVE THAT WE COULD COMPLETE BY MONDAY MORNING A
- 16 FORENSIC EXAMINATION THAT WOULD HAVE A SUBSTANTIAL
- PROBABILITY OF REVEALING ANY ELECTION --
- 18 Q. SO IF YOU BEGAN AT 11 O'CLOCK ON MONDAY, WHEN DO
- 19 YOU THINK YOU WOULD BE DONE --
- 20 A. 11 O'CLOCK ON MONDAY. I THINK IF WE DIDN'T
- 21 SLEEP, IT WOULD -- WE COULD FINISH SOMETIME LATE ON
- 22 TUESDAY, BUT WE ARE PREPARED TO START EARLIER THAN THAT,
- of course.
- 24 THE COURT: OKAY. THANK YOU, DOCTOR.
- MR. JOEL: DR. SHAMOS.

- 1 THE COURT: DR. SHAMOS. YOU ARE STILL
- 2 UNDER OATH.
- 3 THE WITNESS: YES, YOUR HONOR.
- 4 BY THE COURT:
- 5 O. DO YOU FEEL COMPETENT TO OFFER AN EXPERT OPINION
- 6 ON HOW LONG IT WOULD TAKE TO DO THE HAND RECOUNT OF ONE
- 7 PRECINCT IN ALL 17 COUNTIES WHERE THEY IS ARE STILL
- 8 MANUAL VOTING?
- 9 A. YES. I PARTICIPATED IN HAND RECOUNT IN TEXAS.
- 10 Q. HOW LONG DO YOU THINK THAT RECOUNT WOULD TAKE?
- 11 A. OKAY. SO DOING A HAND RECOUNT, THERE ARE TWO
- 12 PHASES.
- 13 FIRST, THE RECRUITING OF THE PEOPLE WHO
- 14 ARE GOING TO BE DOING THE RECOUNT AND THEIR TRAINING,
- 15 TELLING THEM WHAT TO DO.
- 16 AND THEN THERE IS THE PROCESS OF ACTUALLY
- 17 DOING IT, WHICH DEPENDS, OF COURSE, ON THE TOTAL NUMBER
- 18 OF BALLOTS THAT WERE CAST AND THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE
- 19 THAT ARE AVAILABLE TO DO SUCH A RECOUNT.
- 20 OF COURSE, THE PROBLEM WITH SUCH RECOUNTS
- 21 IS NO MATTER HOW MANY TIMES YOU DO THEM, YOU NEVER GET
- THE SAME ANSWER TWICE.
- 23 THE COURT: CAN SOMEONE NAME THE 17
- 24 COUNTIES?
- 25 CAN WE HAVE ANY AGREEMENT AMONG AND

- 1 BETWEEN COUNSEL AS TO THE NUMBER OF BALLOTS THAT WOULD
- 2 HAVE TO BE RECOUNTED BY HAND?
- 3 MR. CELLI: I CAN. I CAN NAME --
- 4 THE COURT: I'M NOT SURE THAT OUR
- 5 STENOGRAPHER CAN HEAR ANYTHING YOU ARE SAYING.
- 6 MR. CELLI: EXHIBIT 1 TO THE
- 7 DEFENDANTS' --
- 8 THE COURT: ONCE MORE WITH FEELING,
- 9 PLEASE.
- 10 MR. CELLI: EXHIBIT 1 TO THE DEFENDANTS'
- 11 PAPERS IS A MAP OF THE COMMONWEALTH WHICH SHOWS ALL OF
- 12 THE COUNTIES.
- 13 THE COURT: YES.
- MR. CELLI: IT SAYS THAT THERE ARE 13
- 15 OPTICAL SCAN COUNTIES.
- 16 THE COURT: MR. TABAS SAYS 17.
- 17 MR. TABAS: I THOUGHT IT WAS 17. I SAID
- 18 THAT BASED ON WHAT MR. MARKS HAD TOLD -- THE
- 19 COMMISSIONER HAD TOLD ME.
- 20 THE COURT: ARE WE DEALING WITH TENS OF
- 21 THOUSANDS OF VOTES?
- 22 MR. CELLI: NO. ONE PRECINCT PER. WE
- 23 ARE ACTUALLY IN AGREEMENT BECAUSE THERE ARE SOME
- 24 COUNTIES ACCORDING TO THE MAP THAT THE DEFENDANTS PUT IN
- THAT HAVE BOTH DRE AND OPTICAL SCAN.

- 1 THE COURT: I JUST WANT TO KNOW HOW MANY
- 2 BALLOTS WOULD HAVE TO BE RECOUNTED.
- 3 MR. HARVEY SAYS NO MORE THAN 1500.
- 4 MR. HARVEY: TO DO ONE PRECINCT IN EACH
- 5 COUNTY, YOUR HONOR, WOULD REQUIRE COUNTING NO MORE THAN
- 6 1500 PAPER BALLOTS IN EACH COUNTY.
- 7 THE COURT: WE ARE NOT TALKING ABOUT MORE
- 8 THAN 20,000 BALLOTS AT MOST, ALL TOGETHER.
- 9 MR. HARVEY: THEY ARE ALL TO BE COUNTED
- 10 IN DIFFERENT PLACES AND IN MY EXPERIENCE --
- 11 THE COURT: I'M SORRY, MR. HARVEY. YOU
- 12 ARE NOT AN EXPERT.
- 13 MR. HARVEY: ALL RIGHT.
- 14 BY THE COURT:
- 15 Q. **DOCTOR...**
- 16 A. YOUR HONOR.
- 17 Q. COUNTING BETWEEN 15 AND 20,000 BALLOTS IN
- 18 BETWEEN 13 TO 17 COUNTIES WHICH WE DON'T HAVE AGREEMENT,
- 19 HOW LONG WOULD THAT TAKE, HAND COUNT?
- 20 A. THE WAY I'M LOOKING AT IT IS THAT IF YOU HAD
- 21 SEPARATE TEAMS IN EACH ONE OF THE COUNTIES THEY WOULD BE
- 22 WORKING SIMULTANEOUSLY. IF YOU ARE JUST LOOKING AT THE
- 23 TOTAL CHRONOLOGICAL TIME I THINK YOU COULD PROBABLY
- 24 COUNT 1500 BALLOTS BY HAND IN A DAY, A LONG DAY.
- Q. A LONG DAY.

- 1 SO IF THEY WERE PREPARED TO GET STARTED
- 2 ON MONDAY MORNING --
- 3 THE COURT: MR. MAAZEL, DO YOU HAVE 17
- 4 TEAMS OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN TRAINED IN HAND COUNTING
- 5 BALLOTS THAT ARE PREPARED TO GET STARTED FIRST THING
- 6 MONDAY?
- 7 MR. MAAZEL: I BELIEVE, YOUR HONOR,
- 8 USUALLY IT IS THE COUNTY BOARD THAT ORGANIZES THOSE.
- 9 THE COURT: SO WE DON'T HAVE ANYTHING
- 10 BECAUSE THE COUNTY BOARD --
- 11 BY THE COURT:
- 12 Q. SO FIRST, THE COUNTY BOARD WOULD HAVE TO
- ORGANIZE IT AND ONCE IT DID ORGANIZE IT AND THE COUNTING
- 14 STARTED, IT WOULD TAKE A FULL DAY?
- 15 A. YES, YOUR HONOR.
- 16 Q. IN YOUR EXPERIENCE, HOW LONG DOES IT TAKE IN
- 17 PENNSYLVANIA FOR THE COUNTY BOARDS TO SELECT PEOPLE TO
- 18 DO A HAND RECOUNT?
- 19 A. I DON'T HAVE BACKGROUND IN THAT.
- THE COURT: OKAY. NOW, REMIND ME AGAIN,
- 21 MR. MAAZEL, THE FORENSIC AUDIT YOU WANT IS WHAT?
- 22 MR. MAAZEL: IT IS A FORENSIC AUDIT OF
- 23 THE CENTRAL ELECTION MANAGEMENT SYSTEM OF THESE
- 24 COUNTIES. IT'S BASICALLY COPYING A HARD DRIVE.
- THE COURT: OF HOW MANY COUNTIES?

- 1 MR. MAAZEL: SIX.
- 2 THE COURT: SIX COUNTIES. AND YOU NAMED
- 3 THE SIX INCLUDING PHILADELPHIA?
- 4 THE WITNESS: YES, SIMULTANEOUSLY.
- 5 **BY THE COURT:**
- 6 O. HOW LONG WOULD SUCH A FORENSIC AUDIT TAKE IN
- 7 YOUR EXPERT OPINION, DOCTOR?
- 8 A. WELL, I DON'T AGREE THAT THAT IS THE FORENSIC
- 9 AUDIT. THAT IS THE NECESSARY PREPARATION TO DO A
- 10 FORENSIC AUDIT, WHICH IS, YOU CAN'T TAKE THE VOTING
- 11 MACHINE ITSELF BECAUSE ONCE IT HAS BEEN OUT OF THE
- 12 CUSTODY OF THE COUNTY IT IS NOT SAFE FOR USE IN AN
- 13 ELECTION ANYMORE. SO WHAT YOU DO IS YOU MAKE A COPY OF
- 14 THE HARD DRIVE THAT IS ON THE MACHINE. THEN THAT HARD
- 15 DRIVE HAS TO BE SUBJECTED TO A FORENSIC EXAMINATION, AND
- 16 I DON'T KNOW WHAT THEY ARE ACTUALLY LOOKING FOR. IF
- 17 THEY ARE LOOKING FOR THE PRESENCE OF CERTAIN MALWARE --
- 18 Q. THEY ARE LOOKING FOR BAD ACTS, MISCONDUCT,
- 19 TAMPERING, HACKING.
- 20 A. IT'S DIFFICULT FOR ME TO IMAGINE HOW THERE COULD
- 21 BE A FORENSIC EXAMINATION THAT WOULD REVEAL, FOR
- 22 EXAMPLE, THE VERY SCENARIO THAT THEY POSIT, WHICH IS
- 23 THIS MALWARE WHICH ERASES ITSELF AFTER IT HAS DONE ITS
- 24 BAD WORK. THAT WOULD NOT BE REVEALED IN SUCH A FORENSIC
- 25 **AUDIT.**

- 1 Q. SO YOU ARE SAYING NO AMOUNT OF TIME?
- 2 A. NOT FOR THAT SCENARIO.
- 3 Q. WHAT SCENARIO?
- 4 A. THE SCENARIO --
- 5 O. WHAT SCENARIO -- WHAT KIND OF AUDIT COULD BE
- 6 CONDUCTED IN LESS THAN A DAY? WHAT KIND OF FORENSIC
- 7 AUDIT COULD BE CONDUCTED IN LESS THAN A DAY?
- 8 A. THE ONLY THING THAT I COULD SEE BEING DONE IN
- 9 LESS THAN A DAY WOULD BE A BITWISE COMPARISON. BIT FOR
- 10 **BIT OF --**
- 11 Q. OF THE AMOUNT OF INFORMATION?
- 12 A. -- OF WHAT THE SOFTWARE ON THE MACHINE SHOULD BE
- 13 VERSUS WHAT IT ACTUALLY IS.
- 14 O. THAT IS IT?
- 15 A. BUT THE PROBLEM IS, THAT IS A PARTICULAR
- PROGRAM. THAT DOES NOT COUNT EVERYTHING GOING ON IN THE
- OPERATING SYSTEM, ET CETERA, SO I'M NOT SURE WHAT WOULD
- 18 BE REVEALED BY SUCH A QUICK AUDIT.
- 19 THE COURT: OKAY. THANK YOU, DOCTOR.
- 20 MR. JOEL, YOU HAVE FIVE MINUTES LEFT IF YOU CARE TO
- 21 SPEAK.
- 22 MR. JOEL: I'LL ACCEDE IT, YOUR HONOR.
- 23 THANK YOU.
- 24 THE COURT: I HAVE ORDERED THAT NO
- 25 ADDITIONAL PAPERS BE FILED BECAUSE THE LAST ONE OF THESE

I HAD WHICH WAS A MONTH AGO PEOPLE WERE FILING THINGS UP 1 2 UNTIL 1:30 IN THE MORNING THAT I HAD TO RULE. AND SO IF YOU FEEL YOU HAVE TO FILE SOMETHING, I BELIEVE MY CLERK 3 4 HAS MADE IT EASY FOR YOU TO CONTACT HIM, BEN, AND PLEASE CALL BEN, HE KNOWS HOW TO GET HOLD OF ME. IF THERE IS 5 SOMETHING YOU REALLY FEEL -- I REALLY WOULD LIKE TO GET THIS DONE BY MONDAY MORNING, WHICH IS GOING TO BE HARD IF YOU FILE NEW ARGUMENTS AND SO FORTH. BUT IF YOU 8 9 FEEL -- IF YOU FEEL YOU REALLY HAVE TO DO IT, PLEASE CALL MY CLERK AND I WILL GIVE YOU A VERY, VERY PROMPT 10 RULING. 11 12 ANYTHING FURTHER? 13 MR. JOEL: NO, YOUR HONOR, NOT FROM THE 14 COMMONWEALTH. MR. TABAS: NO, YOUR HONOR. 15 MR. MAAZEL: NOT FROM THE PLAINTIFFS. 16 THANK YOU VERY MUCH, YOUR HONOR. 17 THE COURT: MY THANKS TO ALL COUNSEL. I 18 19 KNOW JUST HOW HARD YOU HAVE ALL BEEN WORKING. I HOPE YOUR CLIENTS APPRECIATE ALL YOUR HARD WORK AS MUCH AS I 20 21 DO. THANK YOU. THE CLERK: ALL RISE. 22

(COURT ADJOURNED 4:10 P.M.)

24

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5	I CERTIFY THAT THE FOREGOING IS A CORRECT
6	TRANSCRIPT FROM THE RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS IN THE
7	ABOVE-ENTITLED MATTER.
8	
9	DATE OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER
10	SUZANNE R. WHITE
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2	WITNESS		DIRECT	CROSS	REDIRECT	RECROSS
3	J. ALEXANDER HAL	DERMAN				
4	BY MR. CELLI		12		27	
5	BY MR. JOEL			23		
6	BY MR. TABAS			26		
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8	MICHAEL SHAMOS					
9	BY MR. JOEL		43			
10	BY MS. FRICK			66		
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## **EXHIBIT 3**

# Securing the Vote

### **Protecting American Democracy**

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40 SECURING THE VOTE

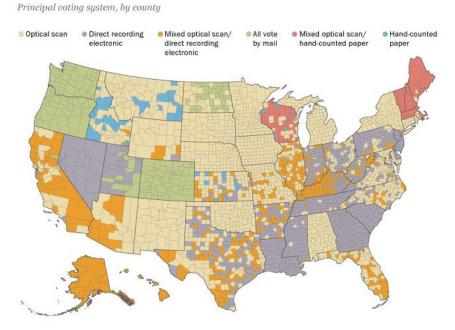


FIGURE 3-4 Voting systems across the United States. SOURCE: Desilver, Drew, "On Election Day, Most Voters Use Electronic or Optical-Scan Ballots," Pew Research Center, November 8, 2016. Pew Research Center created the figure using data from the Verified Voting Foundation.

## BOX 3-1 Overview of Vote Casting and Tabulation Methods

#### Systems in Use in Federal Elections

Hand-Marked "Optical" Scan Paper Ballot Systems. Voters mark paper ballots that are subsequently recorded electronically by scanning devices. On most scanned ballots, voters indicate their selections by filling in an oval or completing an arrow. Ballots may either be scanned on precinct-based optical scan systems in a polling place (precinct count) or collected in a ballot box to be scanned at a central location (central count). The original generation of optical ballot scanners used one row of optical sensors, one sensor per ballot column, to detect the voters' marks. Newer ballot scanners, sometimes referred to as "digital scanners," store an electronic image of each ballot [a "cast vote record" (CVR)], which can be used later if auditing of the election process is required. The original generation

41

#### **BOX 3-1 Continued**

of ballot scanners used infrared sensors to detect ballot marks, giving rise to the generic term "optical scanner." Optical scanners are still used even though newer image-processing technologies are available.

**Direct Recording Electronic (DRE) Systems.** Voters use an electronic interface to record their votes directly into a computer's memory (e.g., onto a memory cartridge or memory card). That computer counts the vote. A keyboard is typically provided to allow entry of write-in votes, though older models have a paper roll behind a small opening where voters record write-in votes using a pen.

The first generation of DREs used a push-button interface, while later systems use a touchscreen interface or a dial interface.<sup>b</sup>

Some DREs are equipped with a voter-verifiable paper audit trail (VVPAT) feature that prints the voter's selections on paper and allows voters to confirm their selections by inspecting this paper before their votes are cast. The paper record is preserved and, depending on state election codes, may serve as the ballot of record in the event of an audit or recount.

**Machine-Marked Paper Ballot Systems**. A growing number of jurisdictions are using electronic "ballot-marking devices" (BMDs), which use electronic devices to mark paper ballots according to voters' instructions. The paper ballots are usually counted by optical scanners.

*Hand Counted Paper Ballots*. A small number of jurisdictions continue to manually count paper ballots cast in polling places.

#### Systems No Longer In Use In Federal Elections

**Punch Card Voting Systems**. Those systems employed a card (or cards) and a small clipboard-sized device for recording votes. Voters marked their choice by punching holes in the cards with a punch device. After voting, the voter either placed the ballot in a ballot box for later tabulation or the ballot was fed into a vote-tabulating device at the precinct. No jurisdictions used punch card voting systems in federal elections in 2016.

*Mechanical Lever Voting Machines*. First introduced in the 1890s, mechanical lever machines were used in many states during the 20th century. Voters would make choices by flipping levers and their selections were tabulated on machine counters similar to automobile odometers. As recently as 1996, mechanical lever machines were used by 20.7 percent of registered voters in the United States. Since 2010, no mechanical lever voting machines have been used in federal elections.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Some scanners also store a digital photograph of the ballot.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> See Jones, Douglas W. and Barbara Simons, *Broken Ballots: Will Your Vote Count?* (Stanford: Center for Language and Information, 2012), pp. 91-101.

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#### BOX 3-2 The Role of Paper in Elections

Until the widespread adoption of mechanical lever machines in the mid-20th century, hand-marked paper had been the most common medium upon which a voter cast a ballot. The cast paper ballot provided a physical record that could be examined in instances where a recount or other reconciliatory action was required. With the advent of mechanical lever machines, no record of a voter's choices was permanently stored, either on paper or mechanically—the only effect of casting a vote was to increment mechanical counters that accumulated the choices made by voters on a particular machine. Mechanical lever machines were popular where they were used. However, these machines were prone to breakdowns that could go undetected until balloting had ended.

Before the passage of the Help America Vote Act (HAVA), it was common for jurisdictions with lever machines to adopt electronic systems when they considered upgrading their voting systems. HAVA provided an impetus for jurisdictions that had previously used lever machines to adopt Direct Recording Electronic systems (DREs), either to provide accessible options for those with disabilities, or to replace paper-based systems altogether. The rapid growth in the prominence of DREs brought greater voice to concerns about their use, particularly their vulnerability to software malfunctions and external security risks. And as with the lever machines that preceded them, without a paper record, it is not possible to conduct a convincing audit of the results of an election.

Many electronic voting systems utilize paper as part of their operation. As discussed in Box 3-1, voters may mark paper ballots that are subsequently recorded electronically by scanning devices. Alternatively, ballot-marking devices may be used to mark paper ballots according to voters' instructions. In the case of DREs, there is no physical (i.e., paper) ballot. Instead, the ballot exists only in electronic form.

Problems arise when a voter does not actually verify his or her ballot, especially when the ballot is being tabulated by a computer that has a software flaw or is infected with malware (see Chapter 5). A ballot that is "voter marked" is by definition voter verified. Voters can verify that the selections on hand-marked ballots or on paper ballots produced by BMDs reflect their intended choices before their votes are tabulated. With DREs, voters may similarly verify their selections using a voter-verifiable paper audit trail (VVPAT) (see Box 3-1)—provided that the DRE is equipped with this feature. The information on a VVPAT may accurately present a voter's selections, but VVPATs exist independently of the record maintained in the DRE's computer memory. In most cases it is the electronic record, and not the VVPAT, that is used for vote tabulation.<sup>a</sup>

#### **Paper Ballots Defined**

Because records of ballots may take many forms, it is important to clearly define what is meant by "paper ballot." For the purposes of this report, references to paper ballots refer to original records that are produced by hand or a ballot-marking device, which are human-readable in a manner that is easily accessible for inspection and review by the voter without any computer intermediary (i.e.,

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voter-verifiable), countable by machine (such as a scanner) or by hand, and which may be recounted or audited by manual examination of the human-readable portion of the ballot.

A paper ballot-based voting system makes the paper ballot the official "ballot of record" of the voter's expressed intentions. Other representations (e.g., an electronic representation produced by a scanner) are derivative and are not voterverifiable. The human-readable portion of the cast paper ballot provides the basis for audits and recounts.

#### The Challenges of Paper Ballots

The use of hand-marked paper ballots can introduce voting errors. Voters may inadvertently make stray marks that can be misread by optical scanners. Voters using hand-marked paper ballots may accidentally skip a race or vote for multiple candidates in a race and thereby invalidate their vote for that particular race.<sup>b</sup> Counting paper ballots can be tedious, leading to vote-count errors.<sup>c</sup>

Paper ballots are not immune to fraud. Fraud may occur through ballot theft, destruction, or substitution, by ballot-box stuffing, or by the addition of marks to ballots after a voter finishes voting. $^d$ 

Paper ballots can present logistical challenges when used in vote centers and in early voting, especially in densely populated, metropolitan areas. In vote centers and in early voting, every jurisdiction-specific ballot "style" that might conceivably be requested by a voter in a jurisdiction must be available at every voting site. In smaller jurisdictions, this functional requirement can be satisfied by having a physical inventory of every ballot style that might be requested at a site, through what is known as a "pick-and-pull" system. In larger jurisdictions that might have hundreds of ballot styles, maintaining a complete, secure inventory of ballot styles in every voting location may be logistically impossible or cost-prohibitive. One solution to this problem is a "ballot-on-demand" system, where appropriate ballots are printed on the spot for every voter. However, certain ballot-on-demand systems are costly and can put significant strain on the electrical systems of buildings hosting these systems.<sup>e</sup>

Electronic voting systems introduce challenges in and of themselves. Such systems are, for example, more costly than systems that use paper exclusively. Technical support for such systems is often necessary and adds to their cost over time. Such systems may also be more prone to breakdowns, are subject to technological obsolescence, and as is discussed in Chapter 5, vulnerable to cyberattacks and other threats. Furthermore, electronic systems must be stored in secure locations when not in use.

continued

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> As noted in Box 3-1, in some states, when a VVPAT is produced by a DRE, the VVPAT may be used as the ballot of record for election contests and recounts.

Research suggests that DRE VVPATs tend not to be voter verified. This suggests that VVPATs may be of little value as a check on the accuracy of DREs. See, e.g., Everett, S. P., "The Usability of Electronic Voting Machines and How Votes Can Be Changed Without Detection," doctoral dissertation, Rice University, Houston, Texas and Campbell, Bryan A. and Michael D. Byrne, "Now Do Voters Notice Review Screen Anomalies? A Look at Voting System Usability," *Proceedings of EVT/WOTE*, 2009.

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#### **BOX 3-2 Continued**

Research on the rate of voter verification of BMD ballots relative to the rate of verification of VVPATs or voter-marked paper ballots has been limited.

- <sup>b</sup> Voters may also accidentally skip races when using DREs (see Chapter 4).
- <sup>c</sup> For a discussion of the inherent weaknesses in human vote counting, see Goggin, Stephen N., Michael D. Byrne, and Juan E. Gilbert, "Post-election Auditing: Effects of Procedure and Ballot Type on Manual Counting Accuracy, Efficiency, and Auditor Satisfaction and Confidence," *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy*, 2012, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 36-51. A recount or audit can make use of limited software (e.g., spreadsheets) to assist in the counting.
  - Dr. Gilbert is a member of the committee that authored the current report.
- $^{\it d}$  Such fraud provided motivation for the adoption of mechanical lever voting machines in the late 19th century.
- <sup>e</sup> Power usage is determined by the type of printer required to produce the desired ballot. In instances where a printer must create an entire blank ballot certified to meet particular specifications using paper of a specific quality, be digitally readable, and be assigned a unique serial number, the necessary printer may draw significantly more power than is typical for printers used to print only voter selections on archival thermal paper.

TABLE 3-1 Types of Voting Systems Used in the United States in 2016

Voting System	Percent of U.S. Counties Using System
Hand Counted Paper Ballot	1.54%
Optical Scan	62.78%
Electronic (DRE or BMD)	32.85%
Mixed	2.69%

SOURCE: Brace, Kimball, President, Election Data Services, Inc., "The Election Process from a Data Perspective," presentation to the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity, September 12, 2017, Manchester, NH, available at: https://www.electiondataservices.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/BracePresentation2PenseCommAmended.pdf.

ally counted or voted with a mixture of systems (see Table 3-1). In many instances, marked ballots are submitted by mail and tabulated at a central location.

HAVA requires that each polling place used in a federal election

be accessible for individuals with disabilities, including nonvisual accessibility for the blind and visually impaired, in a manner that provides the same opportunity for access and participation (including privacy and independence) <sup>29</sup> as for other voters . . . through the use of at least one

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Participation also includes the ability to cause one's own ballot selections to be recorded, verifying that one's ballot selections are correctly recorded, and the casting of one's self-verified ballot.

# **EXHIBIT 4**





I hate to be Debbie Downer, but this agreement allows PA to buy awful "universal use" touchscreen ballot markers and scanners, which. generate the COMPUTER marked so-called "paper ballots" w/ barcodes that I've been warning about. Vote suppressors like Brian Kemp love them... 1/

Dr. Jill Stein 😍 🤣 @DrJillStein

BREAKING: Huge victory for election integrity! We just settled our #recount lawsuit in Pennsylvania for a guarantee that PA will use paper ballots by 2020, followed in 2022 by post-election audits to verify the vote before results are certified. Details: votingjustice.us/pa\_recount\_set...

7:04 AM - 29 Nov 2018

**1,950** Retweets **2,358** Likes















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And why does PA get to kick the manual audit ball down the road until 2022? WTH? If we keep congratulating officials for refusing to use HAND marked paper ballots (counted by hand or on scanners) & postponing manual audits, we are doomed. 2/

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#### Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1 · 29 Nov 2018

3/ Here is my sourced article about the many dangers of these new universal use touchscreen ballot markers.



States are flocking to buy the new "universal use" touchscreen ballo...

By Jennifer Cohn, May 13, 2018

medium.com



#### Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1

10/ As with VVPATs, a recent study (awaiting peer review) shows that most voters don't review summary cards and won't notice errors if they do. nybooks.com/daily/2018/11/...

Show this thread

□ 1 □ 80 □ 163



#### Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1 · 29 Nov 2018

5/ The all-in-one version of these touchscreen ballot markers include what IT expert Andrew Appel calls a "permission to cheat" feature bc the machine can tell when voters decide NOT to review the computer marked "paper ballot" & flip those votes.

#### Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1

You might want to watch out for the permission to cheat feature... IT expert Andrew Appel's words, not mine. twitter.com/jennycohn1/sta... 2/



#### Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1 · 29 Nov 2018

6/ No manual audit in the world would be able to detect this cheating. And yet watch everyone in the media congranulate Stein for this terrible settlement.



#### Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1 · 29 Nov 2018

7/ @VerifiedVoting and lawmakers will no doubt praise this awful agreement as well.

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8/ One of my articles about the use of ExpressVote touchscreen ballot markers in Kansas and the many problems they caused & have the potential to cause.



## Kobach's Kansas Victory Tainted by...Kobach's Ele...

By Jennifer Cohn Kris Kobach, Kansas's top election official, recently declared victory in the highly publicized Republican gubernatorial primary in Kansas, surpassin...

legacy.tyt.com

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#### Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1 · 29 Nov 2018

9/ The same vendor executive who ushered in a generation of paperless touchscreen voting in Georgia is pushing HARD to get Georgia and jurisdictions throughout the US to buy the ExpressVote touchscreen ballot markers.



## Trump'sREALHistory - #DemCast @heartfulmom

29. Guess who's promoting ES&S Express Vote Barcode System?

She's baaaack! Kathy Rogers...

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10/ As I said, Brian Kemp in Georgia is champing at the bit to buy ES&S's ExpressVote touchscreen ballot markers, which should put all voters on high alert.



### Trump'sREALHistory - #DemCast @heartfulmom

28. 2009: ES&S buys Diebold's Election Systems.

2018: Guess which system Kemp wants to install next?







#### Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1 · 29 Nov 2018

Here, @MarilynRMarks1 illustrates what these computer marked summary cards, which almost everyone calls "paper ballots," look like and how they function. The PA agreement would allow these. The most corrupt US election officials seem to want these. twitter.com/marilynrmarks1... 11/



#### Marilyn Marks @MarilynRMarks1

1/ This is the voting system card that Kemp likes and SB403 is permitting. There are barcode votes counted that humans cannot read. The message list to voters that is supposed to list what they voted is not scanned or...

Show this thread



133





#### Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1 · 29 Nov 2018

12/ Kobach's appointee in Kansas's most populous county recommended these barcode ballot markers & got them, despite concerns raised by El advocates. The machines then scandalized the county by causing enormous problems in the Kansas gubernatorial primary.



## Kobach's Kansas Victory Tainted by...Kobach's Ele...

By Jennifer Cohn Kris Kobach, Kansas's top election official, recently declared victory in the highly publicized Republican gubernatorial primary in Kansas, surpassin...

legacy.tyt.com





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13/ We need hand marked paper ballots counted either (a) by hand or (b) on scanners, w/ Risk Limiting Audits & a transparent chain of custody between election night & the audit. Touchscreens only for ADA use and no barcodes on the ballots. The PA agreement requires none of this.





14/ If Kemp's and Kobach's endorsements aren't enough to convince you, there's also Ohio's new Republican Secretary of State, @FrankLaRose, who authored and pushed through a bill that has enabled funds to go toward the purchase of these things.

#### Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1

I knew it. Ohio is joining the dangerous stampede to replace their touchscreen voting machines not with hand marked paper ballots and scanners, but rather with barcoded "summary cards" from touchscreen ballot marking devices like the ES&S ExpressVote. 1/ wcbe.org/post/franklin-...

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## Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1 · 29 Nov 2018

15/ Although few are aware of this impending train wreck caused by LaRose's bill (@LuluFriesdat & I tried to stop the bill earlier this year), many have noted w/ alarm LaRose's recent decision to add Ken Blackwell of Ohio 2004 infamy 2 his transition team.



OH just elected a new Secretary of State. He has put Ken Blackwell on his transition team. Blackwell was SOS of OH in 2004 and was knee deep in the cheating. Sadly, OH will be really tough for the Dem candidate in 2020.



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16/ Thread about LaRose, Blackwell, and Ohio 2004.

## Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1

People may think that what went down in Ohio in the 2004 presidential election is old news, & that we shouldn't discuss it. They are wrong. The man at the center of it all, former Ohio Secretary of State Ken Blackwell, is BACK & assisting OH's new Secty of State. God help us.  $1/\dots$ 

Show this thread

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Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1 · 29 Nov 2018

17/ Related Sourced thread.

## Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1

No, manual audits CANNOT remedy the risks of barcoded summary cards (which vendors and officials call "paper ballots") from "universal use" touchscreen ballot markers, which @DrJillStein's Pennsylvania settlement agreement allows. See thread below. twitter.com/jennycohn1/sta...

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**Jennifer Cohn** @jennycohn1 · 17 Dec 2018 18/ Here is the settlement agreement.

d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/jillstein/page...

Q 1 🗘 12 💛 25



#### Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1 · 17 Dec 2018

19/ Here's an article dated AFTER Stein's settlement agreement. As you can see, PA officials interpret the agreement to mean that touchscreen ballot marking systems are allowed in lieu of hand marked ballots & scanners.

#### Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1

"While [PA] voters may still end up using an ELECTRONIC SCREEN to make their ballot selections, that machine will spit out a paper record that will then be scanned..." Uh, why?? #VendorBoondoggle cc: @PittCyber @DePasqualePA 1/ cumberlink.com/news/local/com...

Show this thread

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#### Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1 · 17 Dec 2018

20/ The only touchscreen ballot marking systems sold for "universal use" are the ones with the barcodes. The most popular version is the ES&S ExpressVote that I keep warning about. Unisyn has one too. And Dominion Voting. All would have the same issues.



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## Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1 · 17 Dec 2018

21/ Proponents of these touchscreen systems sometimes say they are important to avoid problems resolving unclear hand marks during hand recounts or audits. But that simply isn't a sufficient concern given the many glaring problems w/ these systems.

## Jennifer Cohn @jennycohn1

In the Minnesota 2008 hand recount, the intent of all but 14 hand marked paper ballots out of 2.9 million was resolved unanimously by a bipartisan panel. 5/ sos.state.mn.us/media/3078/min...

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# **EXHIBIT 5**



## CITY COMMISSIONERS OFFICE

Lisa M. Deeley, Chairwoman Anthony Clark, Commissioner Al Schmidt, Vice Chair

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE February 20, 2019

Contact: Nick Custodio Office: 215- 686-3460 Cell: 814-470-1069 nick.custodio@phila.gov

## Philadelphia City Commissioners Approve New Voter-Verifiable Paper Ballot Voting System and New Electronic Poll Books

Philadelphia meets Governor's deadline and secures future elections

Philadelphia, PA – This morning at their regularly scheduled meeting the Philadelphia City Commissioners voted to approve a new voter-verifiable paper ballot voting system to be implemented in the November 2019 General Election. In April of 2018, the Department of State, in conjunction with Governor Wolf, informed all 67 of Pennsylvania's counties that they must have a voter-verifiable paper record voting system selected no later than December 31, 2019, and preferably in place for use in the November 2019 General Election. With their selection, this morning, of the Election Systems & Software, LLC ExpressVote XL the City of Philadelphia has met the Governor's selection deadline.

"Today is a momentous day," said City Commissioner Chair Lisa Deeley. "Today, we voted to give the City's voters a secure and resilient system with an auditable voter-verifiable paper-ballot. We look forward to the next steps which are educating our poll workers and voters. I hope everyone will come out to our public trainings." Vice Chair, Commissioner Al Schmidt echoed her comments saying that "It's critically important that we make voting easier and equally accessible for all Philadelphians while also considering the need for a secure, resilient voting system. Every voter in Philadelphia should be confident that their ballots are cast securely, and their votes are counted accurately, and our new, auditable paper ballot system will help ensure that."

The ExpressVote XL is certified by both the federal Election Assistance Commission and the Pennsylvania Department of State. All systems certified by the Department of State meet the requirements of the security experts at the University of Pittsburgh and The Blue Ribbon Commission On Pennsylvania's Election Security. The ExpressVote XL will also produce a paper ballot with human readable text, that can be verified by a voter before they cast their vote, can be counted in the event of a recount, and can be audited as per the new risk limiting audit procedures being developed by the state.

In her remarks before the vote, Commissioner Deeley applauded activists who supported hand-marked paper ballots for their passion and their feedback, which contributed to the process. However, the Commissioners choose to stick with an all machine method of voting because of voters' preference for the current style of voting on full-faced machines, the short timeline to retrain poll workers and voters, and the concerns of disability advocates that implementing hand-marked paper ballots would treat voters with disabilities unequally by requiring them to use a separate voting system.

The Commissioners also voted to select KNOWiNK, LLC as the vendor for the new electronic poll books. This modernization of the check-in process will replace the old paper poll books, speed up check-in time, and allow Philadelphia to adapt to any proposed changes in election law. The electronic poll books will be implemented in the November 2019 General Election along with the new voting system. The Commissioners will begin training the poll workers this summer and begin public demonstrations of the new systems as soon as possible.

The Philadelphia City Commissioners are a three-member bipartisan board of elected officials in charge of elections and voter registration for the City of Philadelphia. The three Commissioners are Chairwoman Lisa Deeley (D), Anthony Clark (D), and Vice Chair Al Schmidt (R).

###